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THE BARDIC THEORY OF THE BIBLE.*

MR. GILFILLAN, known as a writer in some of our popular literary periodicals, is, we believe, a clergyman of the Scotch Kirk, reputed liberal in his theology and general tendencies. There can be no doubt that he is a man of great ability. He has activity of thought, luxuriant imagination, store of knowledge and fluent pen. His "Bards of the Bible" shews all this, amid glaring faults and splendid sins against good taste. We must confess, indeed, our sad disappointment at the manner in which he has handled so glorious a subject as the Bards of the Bible. He has contributed nothing, or less than nothing, to the intelligent perusal of their rapt songs; little to the perception of their poetical beauties; and far less, in consequence, than he might have done to the impression even of their devotional and moral uses. One who could write rationally, discriminatingly, and yet admiringly and devoutly, upon this noble theme, would fill a space still left void in our Biblical literature. But he must not exaggerate his topic with tumid rhetorical figures till he loses it in a mist of words. He must not make all the Bible writers, nor all the Bible characters, to be bards. He must not forget that the Bible has its prose both among its very varied characters and among its very various books. He should spend some efforts of discrimination, too, upon those mixed exhibitions of human action and sentiment amid divine or supernatural scenery, in the Hebrew Scriptures especially, which, for want of such discrimination, are often falsely charged upon Heaven and Revelation, while really constituting the human conditions amid which divine revelation has worked its course of progressive good. He must meet the question of Inspiration; and not tamely shirk it, to fall in with the vulgar, ignorant, idle method of seeming to assume that all is miraculous or inspired, while contributing a professedly learned and scientific atmosphere of images pretending to illustrate the bards of the Bible. He must do something better than compare Moses to Homer, and Job to Æschylus. He must not think he is writing useful criticism or devout homage upon the Bible, in saying, "The New Testament, as well as the Old, is a poem—the Odyssey to that Iliad." Of such unmeaning yet ambitious rhodomontade, we shall have to quote other specimens: it may be worth while here to ask what this one short, pithy-looking sentence, just quoted, means; whether it has a meaning; and if it has, whether that meaning is true?

* The Bards of the Bible. By George Gilfillan. Second Edit. 8vo. Pp. 342. Edinburgh—James Hogg: London—Groombridge. 1851.

Thoughts on the Chief Bards of the Bible: a Lecture to the Brighton Mechanics' Institute. By James Howell. Pp. 65. Hamilton, Adams & Co.

Our author, turning from the bards of the Old Testament to those of the New, says, "The New Testament, as well as the Old, is a poem—the *Odyssey* to that *Iliad*." So all the Old Testament is a poem, one poem,—an *Iliad*. Is all the Greek literature, in like manner, from Homer to Polybius, a poem, one poem,—including Homer and Hesiod, Æschylus, Sophocles and Aristophanes, Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, Plato and Aristotle? Are the distinctions of history and philosophy to be lost, together with those of epic, dramatic and lyric poetry, in the new bardic rhapsody? The Hebrew literature has all these kinds, for the Old Testament contains the whole Hebrew literature down to the time of Malachi. And we are required to call it a poem, and that poem an *Iliad*! And to this *Iliad* "the New Testament is the *Odyssey*." In what sense, or with what defiance of sense? Is it as the inferior poem of the two? as the work of the poet's old age? as domestic, rather than heroic? These are the admitted relations of *Odyssey* to *Iliad*. Perhaps all that is meant is, that it was written *after* the Old Testament. But then, *Iliad* and *Odyssey* might stand for first and second in any other connection with equal propriety, to dignify some other book and its sequel, as much as Mr. Gilfillan degrades the Jewish and Christian Scriptures by the flippant comparison.

Mr. Gilfillan sneers at Bishop Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry as "elegant," and nothing more. His own style is grossly inelegant by striving to be something more. "The main ambition of his book," he tells us in his Preface, "is, to be a prose poem or hymn in honour of the poetry and poets of the inspired volume, although, as the reader will perceive, he has occasionally diverged into the analysis of Scripture characters, and more rarely into cognate fields of literature or of speculation." "To the grandeur of the theme the author ascribes the *uniform exaltation of his own tone and language*, at which some critics have cavilled. He felt himself standing on the threshold of the sanctuary of Song, and that he was there not to examine, but to wonder,—not to criticise, but to adore." Yet criticism, to a certain extent and of a certain order, he has indulged in; examination in certain directions he has pursued: and our complaint is not of his wonder and adoration on the threshold of the sanctuary of Song, but of high-flown conceits and stilted metaphors in the expression of sentiments which the Bible bards utter very differently: our objection is not to exaltation of tone and language, but to ambitious high-flying and tumid bombast: our regret is that, instead of helping to the thoughtful and discriminating, while devout study of the Scriptures, as he might have done, he should passively assume all the old orthodox notions by which they are chiefly perplexed, and should find no better resource in estimating "the future destiny of the Bible" in his concluding chapter, than to hope that the millennial reign of Christ on earth will soon come and put a stop to those doubting and unbelieving views of the Scriptures, which are in reality the necessary reaction of the free-born mind against such claims as orthodox critics assert and this bardist does not venture to doubt, as regards the plenary inspiration of the Bible, and the credibility to the eye of *Faith* of some things shocking to reason and to the moral sense.

He avowedly shirks the Inspiration question:

"Without entering into the vexed and vexatious question of verbal inspiration—without seeking minutely to analyze that abysmal word, inspiration,

or to examine the details of a controversy which is little more than begun—we would, as a proper preliminary to our future remarks, thus express more explicitly, though shortly, our general belief as to what the Bible is, and what is its relative position to men and to other works.”—P. xii.

Now, begging Mr. Gilfillan’s pardon, without entering into the Inspiration question, he cannot honestly say what he believes the Bible is, and what its relative position to men and other works. He attempts, indeed, to do this. He says, first negatively, “It is not a scientific book; its intention is not to teach geology or astronomy.” But how can he say this, without assuming for the nonce the non-inspiration of Genesis? Then he attempts to tell us what it *is*: “It is, as a history, the narrative of a multitude of miraculous facts which scepticism has often challenged, but never disproved, and which, to say the least, must now remain *unsolved phenomena*—the *aerolites* of history—speaking, like those from the sky, of an unearthly region,” &c. Does the aerolite theory, or figure of speech, help to clear any one’s theological difficulties, in the Jewish Scriptures especially? He goes on: “As a poem” (the Bible a poem—one poem from beginning to end!), “moral and didactic, it is a repertory of divine instincts—a collection of the deepest intuitions of truth, beauty, justice, holiness—the past, the present, the future—which, by their far vision, the power with which they have stamped themselves on the belief and heart, the hopes and fears, the days and nights, of humanity, their superiority to aught else in the thoughts and words of man, their consistency with themselves, their adaptation to general needs, their cheering influence, their progressive development, and their close-drawn connection with those marvellous and unshaken facts—are proved *DIVINE* in a sense altogether peculiar and alone.” (Int. xiii.) So far as we can trace a meaning in this strange sentence, it is an untrue picture of the Bible as a whole. It is the mere reiteration of that orthodox fiction which pretends that the Bible is what it is not, and wrecks the faith of those who read it and find it not *DIVINE* alone, but largely human, while trying to believe it all divine. With similar rounded platitudes he goes on: “That unconscious page seems, like the wheel in Ezekiel’s vision, to be ‘full of eyes;’ and open it wherever you may, you start back in surprise or terror, feeling ‘this book knows all about us; it eyes us meaningly; it is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of our hearts.’ Those herdsmen, vine-dressers, shepherds, fishermen and homeless wanderers, are coeval with all time, and see the end from the beginning.” This is not mere extravagance; it is mischievous extravagance. * * * “Other books, after shining their little season, may perish in flames, fiercer than those which destroyed the Alexandrian Library; this must, in essence, remain, pure as gold, but unconsumable as asbestos, in the general conflagration. Other books may be forgotten in a universe where suns go down and disappear like bubbles in the stream; the memory of this book shall shine as the brightness of that eternal firmament, and as those higher stars which are for ever and ever.” This is rant, which the Bible does not ask in its support. But it is indited on the author’s avowed principle, that “Every criticism on a true poem should be itself a poem. We have many excellent, elaborate and learned criticisms upon the poetry of the Bible; but the fragmentary essay of Herder alone seems to approach to the idea of a *prose*

poem on the subject. A new and fuller effort seems to be demanded." Our author's effort may be well intended, but we cannot congratulate him on his success. He makes a Bible of bards, instead of illustrating the bards of the Bible.

Let us hear his account of the Hebrew prophets. The magniloquence which their simple, stern severity of life calls forth, is surprising: "The Hebrew prophets lived in the eye of nature. We always figure them with cheeks embrowned by the noons of the East. The sun had looked on them, but it was lovingly—the moon had 'smitten' them, but it was with poetry, not madness—they had drank in fire" (Mr. Gilfillan is too vulgar-genteel to say *drunk*, lest he should be supposed to mean tipsy), "the fire of Eastern day, from a hundred sources,—from the lukewarm brooks of their land" (fire from the brooks? surely not), "from the rich colours of their vegetation, from their mornings of unclouded brightness, from their afternoons of thunder, from the large stars of their evenings and nights" (p. 14). Again: "The Hebrew prophet, in his highest form, was a solitary and salvage man" (so twice, *salvage*, query *savage*?) "residing with lions" (we were not aware of this habit), "when he was not way-laying kings, on whose brow the scorching sun of Syria had charactered its fierce and swarthy hue, and whose dark eye swam with a fine insanity, gathered from solitary communings with the sand, the sea, the mountains and the sky, as well as with the light of a divine afflatus. He had lain in the cockatrice's den" (which of the prophets was this, and what did he do it for?); "he had put his hand on the hole of the asp" (no, you mistake, Mr. Gilfillan; one of them had said figuratively that people might do so in the coming reign of heaven on earth); "he had spent the night on lion-surrounded trees, and slept and dreamed among their hungry roar; he had swam (swum?) in the Dead Sea" (where is this mentioned as the bathing-place for the schools of the prophets?), "or haunted, like a ghost, those dreary caves which lowered around it; he had drank" (too vulgar-polite again to have drunk) "of the melted snow on the top of Lebanon, &c., &c. He was a lonely man, cut off, by gulf upon gulf, from tender interests and human associations," &c. Who dares thus to libel the Hebrew prophets for the sake of a grand period? They were "sons of man" in the Scripture account of them; sympathizing with human affairs and blessing mankind from God. Elijah is indeed especially in our author's view in this caricature, whom he presently calls "a girt and glorious homicide, standing at the brook Kishon, and then, with *knife moving to the music of God's voice*, slaying the false prophets 'heaps upon heaps.'" Can anything worse be quoted from Josephus or the Rabbis, gloating upon the deeds of carnage done by their nation on their enemies! A Christian need not intensify and extol the horrors of the Jewish history. Let him rather mitigate them as far as possible to his own thought, and at least ascribe them to natural rather than supernatural dictation.

Before leaving the subject of style, we may quote our prose-poet's condemnation of other people's offences in the way of devotional poetry. The mote and the beam may perhaps occur to the reader's mind. He says, "There are, we think, but three poets—Dante, Milton and Cowper—entitled at once to the terms sacred and great." Cowper

is complimented indeed! * * * "Of the tribe of ordinary hymn writers, whose drawl and lisping drivél—whose sickening sentimentalism—whose unintentional blasphemies of familiarity with divine things and persons—whose profusion of such fulsome epithets as 'sweet Jesus,' 'dear Lord,' 'dear Christ,' &c., render them so undeservedly popular, what need we say, unless it be to express our measureless wonder and disgust? The writer of sacred poetry should be himself a sacred poet," &c. There is a high-sounding style, a style of words rather than of thought,—big, high-flying words, and grand, ambitious metaphors not necessarily appropriate to the thought, which they conceal with their elaborate finery rather than illustrate by any neatness of congruity,—which is as undeservedly popular as these drawling, drivelling, sentimental, blasphemous-familiar hymns. In the name of our noble Saxon English and Saxon sense, we desire no more such stilted elevation of style as the bards of the Bible have here been made to walk in.

But our "prose-poet" criticises in his way. He characterizes the *bard* Moses thus: "His style of writing resembles the characters sculptured on the walls of Egyptian temples, lowering over the gates of Thebes, or dim-discovered amid the vaults of the Pyramids, where he who afterwards 'refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter' drunk in" (*drank* has been used up elsewhere) "the first draught of inspiration, to be renewed, again and again, at holier fountains, till, sublimed by it, he dared to climb a quaking Sinai and to front a fire-girt God. His style, coloured by early familiarity with that strange silent tongue, partakes here and there of certain of its qualities, its intricate simplicity, its 'language within language' of allegorical meaning, and resembles the handwriting of him who wrote on the wall of the Babylonian palace, Meme, meme, tekél, uparsin." We confess we are not enlightened by this description of the peculiarities of the style of Moses.

Of Job he says, "Nothing can be more unlike the curt and bare simplicity of Moses' style" (does all the preceding verbiage stand for *curt and bare*?) "than the broad-blown magnificence of Job." How splendid is a broad-blown flower! Most people say full-blown; but that would not be elevated enough. "If any one word can express the merit of the natural descriptions in Job, it is the word *gusto*." An elevated word, decidedly, for the porch of the sanctuary of Song! There is truth in it, we grant, but not prose-poetry. "You do something more than see his behemoth, his war-horse and his leviathan; you touch, smell, hear and handle them too." We admire, however (with certain necessary reserve), the following passage, in which the merit of the writer consists in truly appreciating and interpreting the passage in Job. He is wrong, indeed, in thinking nobody has found the link of thought before; for Mr. Wellbeloved's simple heading of chap. xxxviii. shews it unambitiously, and every reader intuitively finds it out for himself. And he spoils the paraphrase by a random word or two of his own at the end about "the laughter of God,"—a figure used rarely, most reservedly, by the Hebrew poets, but grossly revelled in by this modern prose-poet. "We never remember having noticed in any writer a perception of the link which connects all the selected animals together; that is, their independence and wild scorn of man. 'Thou, the lord of the creation! The lion lieth in wait for

thy blood. The raven, apart from thy hated race, in his wilderness, crieth to God, not to thee, for food, and doth not cry in vain. The wild goat and the hind bring forth unknown to thee, and in spots by thee inaccessible. The wild ass spurneth thee, as she seeks the desert. The unicorn, will he harrow the valleys after thee? The peacock's plumage is not derived from thee, and her pride of herself' (*pea-hen*, surely, or else *his* pride of *himself*) 'is scorn of thee. The ostrich despiseth the rider of the horse, as well as the horse himself. Even the horse, is he thy mere obedient slave? No; he snorts with eagerness for thy blood' (the horse carnivorous?) 'and his tremendous Ha, ha! at thee is heard above the shouting and the thunder of the battlefield. The hawk carries aloft her contempt at thee upon her strong, south-soaring pinion. The eagle never stoops till she stoops over thy corpse. Behemoth himself discerneth thy snares, and remains safe and scornful amid his reedy fens. Leviathan is laughing at thee amid his ocean; and at each sneeze of his contempt, the old deep is writhen into sympathetic smiles.' *This is the sting of those matchless descriptions. They exhibit the laughter of God at man's pride and folly, passing, in reverberated echoes, throughout the free and noble creatures of his hand,—the lion roaring, the hawk soaring, the wild ass spurning, the eagle screaming, the horse snorting, the peacock strutting, the ostrich tossing, behemoth brooding, and leviathan lashing the deep into laughter,—all in token of their perfect and united derision of man's pretensions, his character and his crimes. He is left encircled with a universal chorus of contempt.*" (Pp. 55, 56.)

The above is one of the best specimens of Mr. Gilfillan's power, which we have said is great, and of the manner in which his daring, random style mars itself by gross admixtures continually. Surely this sardonic, laughing deity is not the Hebrew, still less the Christian, conception, but Mr. Gilfillan's burlesque upon the words of "Wisdom" in Solomon's fine personification. He *improves* upon it in the following extravagant, and we must say offensive, style:

"Scripture contains no words more impressive than Wisdom's warning:—Because I called and you refused, therefore I will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when your fear cometh—when your destruction cometh as a whirlwind. The *laughter of a God* is a tremendous conception. Suppose the lightning a ghastly smile, and the after thunder a peal of laughter from the sky at poor, cowering man; what a new horror would this add to the tragedy of the storm; and yet it were but a hieroglyphic of the irony implied in Divine derision! When the giants were preparing, with labour dire and din far heard, to storm the skies, 'the gods,' says Paracelsus, 'were calm, and Jove prepared his thunder—all old tales.' But, in the hearing of the Hebrew poet, while the kings of the earth are plotting against the Lord and his anointed, a laugh, instead of thunder, shakes the heavens, makes the earth to tremble, and explodes in a moment the long-laid designs of the enemy, who become frantic more on account of the contemptuous mode, than the completeness, of the destruction. What if the last 'Depart, ye cursed,' were to be accompanied by celestial laughter, reverberated from the hoarse caverns of hell?"

What, indeed! It would be incredible that those who could so laugh were celestials. It is difficult to conceive how a Christian bard can so gloat upon his own horrible exaggeration of a Scripture phrase implying, when rarely and delicately used of the Divine Being, the smile of Power upon impotent folly, but never irony and insult to the

condemned and suffering. But enough of these violations of taste for coarse effect's sake. Nor must we spend more time upon the bards of the Old Testament, but pass on to our author's treatment of those of the New.

In Chap. xii., on the "Circumstances modifying New-Testament Poetry," he enumerates the resurrection as "the event which has most coloured it" (and *elevates* his style thereupon); the transfiguration, which he says was a rehearsal of the ascension (the Scripture says that Moses and Elias spake "of his *decease* which he should accomplish"); and lastly, the *incarnation*,—to which, however, he does not adduce one single scriptural allusion, poetical or otherwise, but illustrates, somewhat profanely we think, in his own style thus:

"In fact, the incarnation and poetry bear a resemblance. Poetry is truth dwelling in beauty. The incarnation, the Word made holy and beauteous flesh. Poetry is the everlasting descent of the Jupiter of the True into the arms of the Danae of the Beautiful, in a shower of gold. The incarnation is God the Spirit, descending on Jesus the perfect man like a dove, and abiding upon and within him. The difference is, that while the truth of Jesus is entirely moral, that of poetry is more varied; and that, while the one incarnation is personal and real, the other is hypothetical and ideal. Man and God have rhymed together; and the glorious couplet is, 'the mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh.'"—P. 195.

The theology which confounds the *incarnation* and the *descent of the Spirit*, is about as confused as the description of the poetical element belonging to the former. Being on the subject of doctrinal theology, we may here quote a passage or two as indicating Mr. Gilfillan's whereabouts.

We must suppose him quite orthodox on the Trinity, as he allows his book to give fresh currency to the most ignorant and unscholarly of the arguments on which that doctrine hangs. He is speaking of Adam as a poetical character:

"How interesting the circumstances of his formation! Mark with what dignity God accompanied the making of man! Behold the whole Trinity consulting together ere they proceeded to this last and greatest work of the Demiurgic days! God had only said, Let there be light—let there be a firmament—let the waters be gathered together—let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind; but, when man was to be taken out of the clay, the style of Deity rises, if we may so speak, above itself, and he says, Let us make man after our likeness."

On the Deity of Christ he is, if not ultra-orthodox, ultra-poetical, in his way; that is, bombastic, ranting,—profane rather.

"Hear yon infant weeping in the manger of Bethlehem! That little trembling hand is the hand of him who made the world; that feeble, wailing cry is the voice of him who spake and it was done—who commanded and it stood fast. See that Carpenter labouring in the shed at Nazareth! The penalty of Adam is standing on his brow in the sweat-drops of his toil. That Carpenter is all the while directing the march of innumerable suns and supplying the wants of endless worlds. Behold yonder weeper at the grave of Lazarus! His tears are far too numerous to be counted, and the bystanders are saying, Behold how he loved him! That weeper is the Eternal God, who shall wipe away all tears from all faces. See again that sufferer in the garden of Gethsemane! He is alone; there is no one with him in his deep agony; and you hear the large drops of his anguish, 'like the first of a thunder shower,' falling slowly and

heavily to the ground. And, louder than these drops, there comes a voice, saying, 'Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me.' The utterer of that sad cry, the swelterer of those dark drops, is he whom the harps of heaven are even now praising, and who is basking in the sunshine of Jehovah's smile. 'Without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness.'

We confess we were not prepared to see anything like this, unless it were done satirically (which were in worse taste still); and bitter, indeed, is the satire conveyed in the above specimen of what a believer in the doctrine, possessed of a ready pen and an exaggerative fancy, but destitute of taste, can perpetrate. It out-herods the Litany of the Church of England, which few orthodox people now really like, where it implores Christ by his human attributes. It throws into shade Dr. Watts's hymn, which few people sing now-a-days:

"This infant is the mighty God
Come to be suckled and adored."

But perhaps it is meant for the other side of the Tweed chiefly. It is profane in England, we are quite sure; and to not a few in Scotland.

On the Atonement, we hope we may say, he is not narrowly orthodox. At least he regards the book of Job as "a great apology for God's dealings with men, and a parable of his grand scheme of individual atonement;" and throughout his rhapsody on the Book of Job, he speaks of the patriarch as *reconciled* through the discipline of his sufferings. "The Creator must be good." "Perfect, through suffering, men must become." This is Job's *atonement*; with the barest allusion to "the great sacrifice," and no clear intimation that the writer ascribes Job's reconciliation to faith in Christ as its procuring cause. He does not, however, in our opinion, hit the true scheme of the Book of Job, which is a poetical disquisition on Providence in the good and evil of human life.

On the Logos, Mr. Gilfillan is an avowed Platonist, and makes the apostle John to have derived his theology from Plato too! unless, indeed, the random passage which we now quote is to be taken, like some others, for sound without exact sense:

"To follow the history of the 'Omnific Word'—the Logos, and darling thought of Plato—till he traced *him* entering a lowly stable in Bethlehem and *wedding a village virgin's son*, is John's difficult but divine task."—P. 252.

Difficult indeed the task to trace the idea implied even figuratively in such a *wedding* between *him* the Logos and *him* the Child, at the *birth* of the latter. Is this profaning the incarnation merely, or sully-ing Scripture too? The former we could not forgive in a sincere believer in the doctrine which we ourselves deny; the latter on no account in one who professes to sing an elevated song in praise of the poetry of the Bible. "Blasphemies of familiarity," indeed, "with divine things and persons"!

He has a notion of Judas which is new to us, and which, indeed, he claims as his own. We give him full credit for it, marvelling what his connected theological views on demonology may be in this second half of the 19th century.

"Our notion of Judas is, that he 'had a devil and was mad,'—that he was a demoniac—that, probably, for crimes committed by him formerly, he was handed over to the enemy and had Satan instead of Soul. He became the

mere vessel of the infernal will. With this agree many circumstances in his story, and the language used concerning him by Christ." [For instance, 'After the sop Satan entered into him.'?] "His rush to suicide reminds you of that of the demon-filled swine. In stating this view, we do not mean to palliate his crime or to whitewash his character. He had undoubtedly 'tempted the devil,' and been consigned over to him for his sins."

But whether these shreds of theological opinion be orthodox or heterodox, Mr. Gilfillan has a soul of his own too liberal, we rejoice to find, to restrict itself to orthodox professors. At the end of the chapter on the Poetry of the Gospels (his best chapter, perhaps, on the whole, though deformed by that most atrocious passage we just extracted), he has a note on Channing, which we must have the pleasure of quoting :

"Since writing this chapter, we have read Dr. Channing's Life. We find in one of his letters two of our own thoughts anticipated : one, that of Christ's unconsciousness in working his miracles, and another, his *superiority* to them. He says, 'Miracle-working was to him nothing compared with moral energy.' And this, he says, produced his unconsciousness. We rather think that *that* was the result of the miraculous force stored up in him, and which, in *certain circumstances*, as when it met with strong faith, came forth freely and irresistibly, as water to the diviner's rod, or perspiration to the noon-day sun. But it was not because it came out so spontaneously that Christ rated it low, but because its effects were the mere scaffolding to his ulterior purpose. *We advise every one to read the last thirty pages of the second volume of Channing's Life. They constitute the finest apology for the reality of Christ we ever read, and shew deep insight into his nature. They shew that Hall's definition of Unitarianism,—that its whole secret consists in thinking meanly of Christ,—did not at least apply to Channing.*"—P. 217.

We shall not follow our author through his description of other bards and bardic characters of the New Testament, except to quote his description of Paul's individuality of style, which we leave to others to appreciate, if they can :

"Paul alone, of Scripture writers, aims at composition in his system, his description and his style. His system is a dark but rounded orb ; in description he essays to group objects together ; and the style of the chief part of his principal Epistles is an intertangled chain. We might conceive that meeting on the Damascene way to typify the contrast between intuition and analysis—the divine Intuitionist looking down from above—the baffled but mighty analyst falling like a dead man at his feet, to rise, however, and to unite in himself a large portion of both powers, to blend the learning and logic of Gamaliel the schoolmaster, with the light streaming from the face of Jesus the child." P. 219.

Ohe, jam satis !

The smaller book on Bible Bards, referred to at the head of this article, is by a self-taught man, who seems to have been encouraged by the Rev. incumbent of Trinity chapel, Brighton, to print what he had delivered at the Mechanics' Institution in that town. As such it may be welcomed kindly and judged gently. It is somewhat ambitious, too, in its style, though Mr. Gilfillan's book is unknown to Mr. Howell when he writes. The latter apologizes for (or parades, perhaps) in his little Preface, his frequent use of compound words, as owing to his early perusal of some literal translations of Æschylus in the Penny Magazine. In their quotations from the Hebrew poets these two Bard-celebrators have each their fancy, alike remote from the ideas of the

scholar and the facts of the original writings. Mr. Gilfillan refuses "to print his poetical quotations, *as poetry*, in their *form* of parallelism." "He never could bring himself to realize the practice." Mr. Howell makes parallelisms of his own, such as would have shocked Bishop Lowth, and could not, indeed, be represented in the Hebrew. For instance, in Job :

"Turn from him that he may rest, till he shall
Accomplish, as an hireling, his day.
For there is hope of a tree, if it be
Cut down, that it will sprout again, and that the
Tender branch thereof will not cease."

The latter is, of course, ignorant; the former, surely, wilful. The one does not know the genius of Hebrew poetry; the other insists upon overlaying it with his own. He is bent upon writing a "prose-poem," and so makes the bards also whom he celebrates "prose-poets" to begin with, and the prose-writers of Scripture "prose-poets too," we must not say, all on a dead-level, but all on one level of tumid elevation. We sigh for something better,—simpler, truer, less pretending, more intelligible, more really illustrative of the subject.

E. H. H.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF NIEBUHR.*

It was the complaint of Socrates, in the palmy days of Athenian democracy, that, while no one would employ a shoemaker, or a carpenter, or a pilot, unless he had been duly trained to his business, the weightiest interests of the State were entrusted to men chosen at random, and unqualified by any previous study or experience. The remark is not altogether inapplicable to England, where men are often called to legislate, and sometimes even to rule, without having studied either laws or government; and that greater harm has not resulted from this cause, is due to the energy of our middle classes and the extraordinary advantages of our geographical position. But in the states of central Europe, whose growth is hemmed in by rivals on every frontier, while the colossal powers of England and of Russia are pressing on with antagonistic influences from the West and East, the business of government must be committed to none but experienced hands; and there, accordingly, we find that, for a political career, a special course is considered almost as necessary as for law or medicine, and of this course a thorough university education is made the indispensable basis. Hence it is that in Germany a greater love for and higher attainments in philological learning are found co-existing with professional eminence than in England.

A splendid example of this combination is afforded by the subject of the biography before us. Niebuhr's profession was politics and diplomacy, and the most active period of his life was spent in the service of Denmark and Prussia. He was thus employed during the eventful,

* Life and Letters of Barthold George Niebuhr, with Essays on his Character and Influence. By Chevalier Bunsen, and Professors Brandis and Loebell. 2 vols. Chapman and Hall.

and to Germany disastrous, times of Napoleon's wars, and displayed on the most trying occasions the highest qualities of a statesman. Yet he was, at the same time, one of the most distinguished of the band of purely learned men who have made the scholarship of Germany renowned in Europe; and to us in England he is probably best known as a philologist, and as the remodeller of the early history of ancient Rome.

The present work is based upon, and may be called an abridgment of, one entitled, "*Lebensnachrichten über B. G. Niebuhr*," edited principally by Madame Hensler, to whom the greater part of the letters was addressed. With this lady, an elder sister of his first wife, Niebuhr seems to have kept up an uninterrupted and unreserved correspondence, communicating to her not only his ordinary affairs, but his prospects, difficulties, and even his studies. Consisting, then, of selections from these letters, arranged in periods, of which each is connected to the following by a brief narrative of the events alluded to, the work presents us with a truthful picture of his inmost life and character.

Barthold George Niebuhr, son of Carsten Niebuhr, the celebrated Oriental traveller, was born at Copenhagen in 1776. He gave early indications of extraordinary talent. When six years old, he learnt the Greek alphabet in a single day, and had no further trouble with it. A friend of his father's thus writes of him about a year later :

"This reminds me of little Niebuhr. His docility, his industry and his devoted love for me, procure me many a pleasant hour. A short time ago, I was reading *Macbeth* aloud to his parents, without taking any notice of him, till I saw what an impression it made upon him. Then I tried to render it all intelligible to him, and even explained to him how the witches were only poetical beings. When I was gone, he sat down (he is not yet seven years old), and wrote it all out on seven sheets of paper, without omitting one important point, and certainly without any expectation of receiving praise for it; for, when his father asked to see what he had written, and shewed it to me, he cried for fear he had not done it well. Since then he writes down everything of importance that he hears from his father or me. We seldom praise him, but just quietly tell him where he has made any mistake, and he avoids the fault for the future."

His love for politics shewed itself even at this early age. He used to make copy-books for himself, in which he wrote essays, mostly on political subjects. He had an imaginary empire, called Low England, of which he drew maps; and he promulgated laws, waged wars and made treaties of peace there. In his eleventh year his interest was so excited by the war which then broke out between Austria and Turkey, that he used to talk of it in his sleep at night; and so distinctly was all the intelligence he heard transferred to his imagination, and so wonderful was his faculty of inference and combination, that his nightly anticipations were on various occasions actually confirmed in the journals a few days after. The same marvellous power of political divination was displayed in the early part of the French Revolution, when he anticipated the course of events, the direction which popular movements would take, and the results of the measures adopted by the various parties, with so much precision as to excite the astonishment even of the eminent statesman, Count Bernstorff.

At the age of seventeen he went to the University of Kiel, and there, at the house of Dr. Hensler, one of the Professors, became

acquainted with his future correspondent, Madame Hensler, widow of a son of Dr. Hensler, and her sister, Amelia Behrens, afterwards his wife. Whilst still at Kiel, he received from Count Schimmelman, Danish Minister of Finance, who had heard of his extraordinary talents, an invitation to become his private secretary. This he accepted, and discharged its duties so completely to the satisfaction of the minister, that he offered him the post of Consul-general in Paris. Niebuhr, however, desirous of more leisure for the prosecution of his further studies, preferred an office in the Royal Library offered to him by the Prime Minister; and seems to have had a wish to become, for a time at least, a Professor in the University of Kiel. In this wish he may have been influenced by his recent betrothal to Miss Behrens.

From June 1798 to November 1799 he spent in England and Scotland, being attracted by the celebrity of the University of Edinburgh at that time as a school of physical science, and wishing also to study more closely the nature and working of our constitution. Though he came to England with a strong predilection for the country and people, he was on the whole disappointed with English, and still more with Scotch society. In his letters to his parents and his betrothed, while he does full justice to the worth and energy of our national character, and gratefully acknowledges the hospitality he enjoyed, he complains much of the coldness and reserve which, in spite of all attempts and advances on his part, he found it impracticable to break through. He is obliged to suppose that it is quite a national trait not to dwell, in conversation with friends, upon what concerns us personally. He cannot repress his astonishment at the indifference with which he found people speak of the illness, for instance, of a relation or dear friend. Even the family of Mr. Scott, an old and attached friend of his father's, and who had begged young Niebuhr to regard him as a father during his stay in Scotland, never spoke to him about his parents, and met every attempt on his part to talk to them on such subjects with a silence admitting, as he thought, no other explanation than that it was not in good taste to say much about such things. Whether this impression was at all due to a misunderstood shyness in himself, cannot be known; but we are inclined to think there is much truth in the charge, and that our habit of checking in ourselves or others the free expression of the family affections must always produce an effect very unfavourable to us in the eyes of foreigners. The following extract from his account of a journey from London to Newcastle is amusing; he is describing travelling by stage coach:

"Four horses drawing a coach with six persons inside, four on the roof, a sort of conductor beside the coachman, and overladen with luggage, have to get over seven English miles in the hour; and as the coach goes on without ever stopping, except at the principal stages, it is not surprising that you can traverse the whole extent of the country in so few days. But for any length of time this rapid motion is quite too unnatural. You can only get a very piece-meal view of the country from the windows, and with the tremendous speed at which you go can keep no object long in sight; you are unable also to stop at any place."—I. 121.

In April, 1800, Niebuhr was presented with the double appointment of Assessor at the Board of Trade and Secretary for the Affairs of the African Consulates. In May his marriage took place, a union pro-

ductive to both parties of unalloyed happiness. Their income was not large, and they began their married life with the firm determination to keep within it and resist all temptations to extravagance. In the intervals of business he employed himself with his favourite classics, and his wife entered warmly into all that interested him. Their tranquillity was interrupted by a terrible and trying scene, the bombardment of Copenhagen by Nelson, in the spring of 1801. It was said a short time ago by Mr. Cobden in the House of Commons, that the idea of the French attempting to invade our coast without a previous declaration of war, was absurd, and a libel on the honour of the French nation; and yet, if they were to make such an attempt, the very first justification they would offer would be our own example on this occasion and in 1807. England, considering herself aggrieved by the armed neutrality of the Northern powers, not only committed acts of hostility against Danish vessels and colonies without a formal declaration of war, but, in March 1801, sent a fleet to the Sound and proclaimed war at the moment of attack. The following extracts from letters written at the time will shew the feelings of Niebuhr during these dreadful days.

“Copenhagen, 31st March, 1801.

“I must announce to you,—what you will expect to hear—that the English fleet is now lying as an enemy before our harbour, where it cast anchor yesterday morning, about ten o'clock, having been favoured by a north wind that suddenly sprang up. . . .

“I am too tired, and have no time, to go out and collect further intelligence. Yesterday there was mounting the highest house-tops, towers, &c., without end; then, twice I had to traverse the long way to Schimmelman's and back to the office, where we had to relieve guard; I was as tired as a poor soldier. As we expected an attack in the night, I chose to stay up. Milly, unfortunately, could not be prevented from doing the same, and it has done her eyes harm. She begs and coaxes till I give way, and then I repent of it, because the consequences are just what I anticipated.

“It was on Sunday morning that the English Admiral announced that he would commence hostilities.”

“Copenhagen, 3rd April, 1801.

“The report of our unsuccessful defence will no doubt have reached you before you receive this letter.

“On Wednesday afternoon, about five o'clock, the alarm was given on account of the movements of the English fleet.

“When, yesterday morning, about eleven o'clock, the cannonade suddenly commenced with great violence, which was the only thing that could give us notice of what impended, we were excited, but still in good spirits. We had fancied that it would sound much more terrific when so close, and did not therefore believe the attack to be so furious or so general as was really the case. I went to my office to see that the archives were all packed up. On the way, and when there, I heard various reports that two, three, or more, English ships had got aground, and that they were firing with such vehemence in order to escape being boarded. Meanwhile, the firing went on with redoubled violence: towards half-past two it quite died away, and only single shots fell from time to time. I went out then to gain intelligence. The streets had become perfectly silent, and only single hollow shots were to be heard. By chance, I overheard an officer telling a citizen of a bomb that had fallen and burst by his side. At the next corner, some people were crowding forward to read a placard from the head of the police, containing directions how to act in case of a bombardment. I now return home con-

siderably startled; I hear the single shots which I now know to be throwing bombs. I go out again, go at last to Countess Schimmelman, who had just spoken with some one from the Admiralty, and was full of terror. Soon Count S. comes with the tidings, that our block-ships on the right wing are annihilated. I had never before been so dismayed. I return home and tell Milly only a part of the calamity. I soon went back once more, learnt that the arrival of a cartel-ship from Nelson's fleet, was the cause of the sudden, incomprehensible silence of the enemy's guns; and then heard details of the fight, that were touching to the last degree. The whole city was in consternation, and the streets deserted.

"4th.—Since we have not sufficient intelligence to be able to give you a connected narrative of the battle, and, besides, our situation will interest you still more than the events of the never-to-be-forgotten day, I meant to write to you yesterday about the former in the first place, and to get more information about the latter against to-day. The regular history of the action you shall have, as soon as I know enough about it myself; to-day I can only write you some unconnected particulars. We cannot deny it,—we are quite beaten; our line of defence is destroyed, and all is at stake, as far as we can see, without a chance of our winning anything,—without our being able to do much injury to the enemy, as long as he contents himself with bombarding the city, or especially the docks and the fleet; because we have been deceived in the plan of attack.

"But while we look with sorrowful anxiety on our peril, with indignation on the authors of our mistakes, our spirit rises at beholding the unexampled heroism of our people, which gives us a melancholy joy full of affection, that does not indeed comfort us about the State, nor suffice to deceive us as to our true position, yet fills and warms our hearts, binds us closely to our nation, and makes us rejoice to suffer with it. Such a resistance was never seen. Nelson himself has confessed that never, in all the battles in which he has taken part, has he witnessed anything that could be compared to it. His loss is greater than at Aboukir. It is a battle that can only be compared to Thermopylæ; but Thermopylæ too laid Greece open to devastation.

"The appearance of the city [after all was over] was terrible. Every place was desolate; there was nothing to be seen in the streets, but waggons laden with goods to be carried to some place of safety, a silence as of the grave, faces covered with tears, the full expression of the bleeding wound given us by our defeat. The bringing home of the dead and wounded, and the wretched scenes that took place then, I can scarcely allude to. Milly burst into a flood of tears, when she heard of the fate of the crew of the *Provesteen*, which was the first news we received. She was again overpowered by her grief when a false report was spread abroad, that our defences had been deserted: she only feared a too hasty, inglorious truce.

"The negotiations have been continued; but I cannot tell you anything about them, except that nothing had been decided yesterday, though Nelson himself was on shore. The truce will last at least till to-morrow morning. We must at all events be prepared for a bombardment. The worst is, the Crown batteries can be held no longer, and the enemy will scarcely expose his ships of the line, while he can bombard our docks, fleet, and city. Do not be alarmed about us in case of a bombardment. Our house is in a distant quarter, and it would be impossible really to take the city."—I. 174—177.

In 1805, Niebuhr received offers from the Prussian Government to enter their service in the department of Finance, and this offer, declined at the time, was renewed in 1806, and at length accepted with considerable reluctance at leaving Denmark, but with the full approbation of Count Schimmelman, who felt that it presented advantages greater than anything he could offer him at home. We must not be misled by our English feelings into supposing that in thus transferring his

services he was at all wanting in patriotism. The relations of Denmark with Prussia were those of kindred nations, and it is not unusual in Germany for subjects of one Government to take service under another. Besides which, his family was originally German, having been for many generations settled in Hanover, and to his father Denmark itself was only an adopted country. It was assuredly from no motive of selfishness or ease that he consented to give his services to Prussia, for the storm which soon after broke over that unfortunate country was then visibly lowering, and he went there with the full knowledge of the awful conflict that was impending. The circumstances under which he entered on his new labours will be seen from the following extract.

"The Niebuhrs arrived in Berlin on the 5th of October, 1806. On the 14th, came the dreadful defeats of the Prussian army at Jena and Auerstädt, followed by those of Halle, Prentzlau, Anclam, &c., within a few days. The French were advancing on Berlin. In the consternation produced by the rapidity with which defeat succeeded defeat, scarcely any of the Prussian authorities, military or civil, thought of making any resistance, but fortresses and stores of all descriptions fell into the hands of the French, strengthening them at every step. Seven ministers even lowered themselves so far as to take an oath of fidelity to the French commissioner, without writing to the King for permission. Stein formed an exception. He had taken the precaution of packing up beforehand all the money belonging to the various offices under his direction, and now sent it on to Stettin, under Niebuhr's charge. A day later it would have been lost. After staying a week in Stettin, the Niebuhrs continued their journey to Dantzic, where they met with a most friendly reception from Messrs. Solly and Gibson. In a few days the surrender of Dantzic rendered it necessary to retreat to Königsberg.

"All organization of the executive was now nearly at an end. Niebuhr was, however, resolved to abide by his post so long as Stein remained there. The intrigues of opposing factions rendered the condition of affairs, if possible, yet more hopeless. Meanwhile the enemy was approaching Königsberg. The royal family went forward to Memel, followed by the members of the government and the treasury chests. Niebuhr and his wife arrived in Memel early in January, 1807, after a journey across the low grounds on the shores of the Baltic, which, at that season of the year, was not only fatiguing but dangerous."—I. 194, 195.

In spite of the ungracious dismissal of his chief, the minister Stein, Niebuhr consented, at the urgent request of the Government, to aid in the organization of the commissariat, and by his exertions relieved the scarcity which had come as if to complete the misery of the crushed and despairing people. New calamities came with the spring, and drove the king and his ministers further northwards. The French advanced to Königsberg, the cash belonging to the Government was sent to Riga, and the whole machinery of the State was dissolved. The officials were left free to remain or embark, since the greater number of them could no longer render any service after the frontier was crossed. Many went by sea to Copenhagen. Thither also Niebuhr himself, whose health had suffered severely by fatigue and mental anxiety during this trying crisis, was desirous of retiring; but the minister Hardenberg besought him so earnestly not to forsake him and the King, that he consented to retain his post. And when (a peace having been negotiated, and Hardenberg, at Napoleon's dictation, dismissed) Niebuhr, to whom the state of subjection to France was

inexpressibly painful, again requested to be released, the King himself begged him not to deprive him of his services in this emergency, and Niebuhr again consented to remain. He was entrusted with the important task, first of settling with the French commissioners the question of the contributions to be paid to them as the condition of their evacuating Prussia, and then with the difficult one of raising a loan for this purpose. He went to Amsterdam, where, after a twelvemonth's fruitless efforts, and just as he had obtained permission to return, an offer was made, which, though delayed by the refusal of the King of Holland to sanction it on account of his own pressing necessities, was afterwards, early in 1810, allowed to be effected, and proved of the highest political importance in preventing Napoleon from attacking, as he otherwise would have done, the very existence of Prussia.

This period, from 1806 to 1810, spent in the civil service of Prussia, was the most disastrous and painful of Niebuhr's life. The cruel humiliation to which that unhappy country was subjected, the approaching prostration of the liberties of all Europe by one irresistible despot, the increasing gloom that gathered over every hope, and, in addition to all this, the fatigues and privations and anxiety which he and his delicate wife had to go through, weighed heavily on his spirit and broke his health, and his letters are naturally of a gloomier and sadder tone. On occasion of an engagement with the Bavarians in April, 1809, he writes :

"Victory was evidently so near! and then all had been saved! Then should we have entered on a life which we should not have dragged along as a weary burden. But armies are still entrusted to boys because they are the sons of princes; divisions to generals who have outlived captivity; and he who feels in himself that he could counsel and lead, remains in the background, not only because of a thousand miserable considerations, but because the hour of dissolution is not yet come in which he would press forward!"—I. 269.

Again, in May :

"A strong desire to relieve my bitter grief and comfortless affliction, by freely pouring forth my feelings to you, has, day after day, been forced to yield to the pressure of engagements which assail us on every side. . . .

"I am constantly asking myself here, whether we are really living in the same age of the world that we did formerly, when we calmly reckoned beforehand on the future, or built castles in the air; or whether all before us is not, as it seems to our eyes, Chaos and Night,—a universal destruction of all that now exists?"

"My old father never comprehends, nor dreams, that my outward circumstances are a house of cards. He comforts himself with the idea that we shall want for nothing! For his own sake, I try to prepare him for the contrary, but whenever it comes it will be a terrible surprise to him."—I. 270.

He thus describes the aspect of the province of West Prussia, after the withdrawal of the French, as he saw it on his journey to Königsberg in September 1809 :

"In these parts, all classes are exerting themselves to repair the ravages of war. Heiligenbeil, too, with its suburb, is, for the most part, rebuilt; but it is quite otherwise in the more remote districts higher up the Passarge. There, whole villages, and numerous farmhouses (which are here generally built very badly, even on noblemen's estates), have entirely disappeared; and in many which are still partly standing, the population has been almost or

altogether exterminated by pillage, hunger, and pestilence. In one of these villages, there is only one girl left out of the whole population. The towns, portions of which are in ashes, are in an equally deserted state, and all the inhabitants of this part of the country are plunged into like poverty. It is generally anticipated that nearly all the landed proprietors will become bankrupt, and that property will entirely change hands; a great calamity, because those who grow rich in times of war and misery, are nearly always the worst members of society."—I. 280.

The spirit in which he regarded his official duties is seen in the following remarks, written soon after his appointment to the management of the National Debt and Monetary Institutions in Dec. 1809:

"Will you believe—I know you will—that the outward show of the post I have just received has not for a moment attracted or pleased me? I feel that I am free from that ambition, which received its hateful name from the presumed existence of a bad motive,—but not from that which springs from the feeling and consciousness of a vocation to action and power; this no one can censure. I commiserate the nation, and I feel a calling to alleviate its misery, even if its greatest evils admit of no remedy. The object of my wishes and plans is to save the poor state-creditors, (who are in the greatest extremity and have received no interest for years,) without the necessity of imposing fresh burdens upon the nation; to satisfy the most sacred claims of thousands of sufferers; to regulate the provincial debts, so as to relieve the poor inhabitants; and to save the landed proprietors. I trust that the restoration of the paper currency to its full value will be the result of one of the plans I have drawn up. Outward events may frustrate these undertakings at their very commencement; the difficulties which their details present to myself, I feel that I am strong enough to conquer, for the importance of their object inspires energy and power; no one can lay anything to my charge, and a definite vocation is a fulcrum by which your lever can raise any weight. And even if your enterprize only succeeds to a certain extent, so long as you cannot attribute its partial failure to your own indolence, you have a sweet reward—you sleep in peace and your heart is at rest, even amid bitter disappointments and irreparable losses. If I were to talk in this style to others, it might be called boastful and ostentatious; it is not so to you, with whom I am used to talk as with my own heart."—I. 285, 286.

In June, 1810, Hardenberg was recalled to office, and Niebuhr was the first person to whom he applied for co-operation in the Finance department. But he, dissenting entirely from the new minister's plans, which he believed perilous to the country, again requested to be allowed to retire, and after some negotiations, in which the impossibility of their working together became more apparent, Niebuhr was permitted to relinquish office altogether, and received an appointment to the chair of History in the University then about being opened at Berlin.

We now find him in a new sphere, yet one for which his natural tastes and previous studies had fitted him no less admirably than for a career of active statesmanship. Philological pursuits had always been to him a recreation and delight; the reading of history had been almost a passion with him, and what he had once read was scarcely ever forgotten. His facility in acquiring languages was such, that at the age of thirty he was acquainted with no less than twenty. Of his remarkable memory, the following anecdotes are given:

"His wife and his sister once playfully took up Gibbon, and asked him questions from the table of contents, about the most trivial things, by way of testing his memory. They carried on the examination till they were tired,

and gave up all hope of even detecting him in a momentary uncertainty, though he was at the same time engaged in writing on some other subject. He was once conversing with a party of Austrian officers about Napoleon's Italian campaigns. Some dispute arose respecting the position of different corps in the battle of Marengo. Niebuhr described exactly how they were placed, and the progress of the action. The officers contradicted him; but on maps being brought he was found to be in the right, and to know more of the details of the conflict than the very officers who had been present. One day, when he was talking with Professor Welcker of Bonn, the conversation happened to turn on the weather, and Niebuhr quoted the results of barometrical observations in the different years, as far back as 1770, with perfect accuracy.

"This power was not a merely mechanical faculty; it was intimately connected with the power of instantaneously seizing on all the relations of any fact placed before him, and with his wonderful imagination; his imagination, however, was that of an historian, not of a poet—it was not creative, but enabled him to form from the most various, and apparently inadequate sources, distinct and truthful pictures of scenes, actions, and characters. Hence his keen delight in travels; hence, too, his habit of pronouncing judgment on the men of other countries and of past times, with all the warmth of a fellow-countryman and a contemporary."—I. 298, 299.

It was this power, indeed, of reproductive imagination and historical divination which especially fitted Niebuhr for the task of clearing up the obscurities and solving the perplexing problems of antiquity. To this faculty little scope or opportunity had been left by his arduous financial duties; and the desire to be placed in some position affording more leisure for its exercise had been increasingly felt by him for some years, and had mingled with other motives in his repeated attempts to free himself from official life. The chair of History at Berlin, which he had now obtained, was in this respect perfectly agreeable to his wishes. It is in 1803 that he first mentions his being engaged on the subjects he afterwards made so peculiarly his own. The particular point on which he then wrote was the Roman public domains and their distribution, together with the agrarian laws and colonization. Up to Niebuhr's time, the general opinion even of the learned (with the exception, perhaps, of Heyne, who suspected a part of the truth) was that these laws, proposing as they did to take lands held by the rich and divide them among the poor, were a gross violation of the rights of property. Niebuhr shewed that this was by no means the case; the lands affected being those only which were held from the State, and occupied by the patrician holders as tenants, not real possessors of the soil. It would therefore be as fairly in the power of the State to remove one holder in favour of another, as in that of a landlord to remove a tenant-at-will or restrict the extent of his holding. The real injustice was on the part of the patricians, who, having once obtained occupancy of these lands, chose to represent their long possession of them as conferring actual property in the soil. It was against this assumption of the hardship and discontent it caused among the people, that the agrarian laws were directed.

The object of the work before us being rather the portrayal of the personal character of Niebuhr, than an account of his works, the translator has not entered into the controverted points of Roman history on which he threw such a flood of light. Still, so great was the importance these now assumed, that in any biography of Niebuhr

they claim a prominent place. Perhaps for an English public, the plan intended to be followed by the translator may be a wise one, viz., to publish in a third volume the letters relating more particularly to learned subjects, and therefore less interesting to a general reader.

Niebuhr quickly determined on making Roman history the subject of his first course of lectures, on the opening of the University at Michaelmas, 1810. These lectures formed the foundation of his great work, the *History of Rome*, the writing of which he seems henceforth to have regarded as the principal task of his life. Of his opening lectures and their success, Savigny thus speaks:

"Niebuhr was appearing for the first time in the character of an instructor; he had as yet earned no fame as a writer, and thus the esteem and consideration which he certainly already enjoyed, were necessarily limited to the narrower circle of his personal acquaintance. He told me himself at the time, that he had only expected to have students, and a small number of them, as his hearers, and should have been fully satisfied if that had been the case; but in addition to a large audience of the students, they were attended by members of the Academy, professors of the University, public men and officers of all grades, who spread the fame of the lectures abroad, and thus continually attracted fresh hearers. It was the fairest harbinger of the future eminence of the youthful university. This unexpected success re-acted on Niebuhr's susceptible nature, and filled him with fresh inspiration. While he had previously felt a peculiar partiality for this subject of research, his courage and his inclination were now raised to the highest point by this respectful appreciation of his merits, and the daily and familiar intercourse with distinguished scholars.

"His time, at that period, was unceasingly occupied in productive efforts made with youthful energy and joy, and rewarded by a grateful recognition of their value; and it is visible even in these letters, as well as confirmed by many expressions to his friends, that no portion of his life afforded him such high and unmixed enjoyment.

"The mode of his delivery was also remarkable. He had written down his lecture verbatim, and read it off before his hearers. This proceeding, which usually injures the liveliness of the impression, had in his case the most animated and powerful effect, such as in general only accompanies an extempore delivery. His hearers felt as if transported into ancient times, when the public reading of new works supplied the place of our printed books, and there was a less extended circulation, but they made a warmer and more personal impression."—I. 303—305.

He was closely occupied during the winter of 1810-11, with these lectures and the preparation for printing his first volume of the *History*, which was ready for publication in the autumn of 1811. His second volume appeared in the summer of 1812, and he worked hard to prepare the third for the press by the beginning of the following year. But the mighty events of the autumn, the disastrous retreat of the grand army from Russia, and the constant passage of troops through Berlin, interrupted his labours and engaged his thoughts, filling him with new hopes of deliverance from the yoke of the French. And when Germany began to arm for the re-conquest of her freedom, he saw nothing either degrading or unbecoming in entering the ranks even as a private soldier. He refused to evade serving in the *Landwehr*, or militia, and went through the drudgery of learning the drill and exercise, and even requested to be allowed to enter a regular regiment. There is surely something noble and touching in the sight of a man gifted like Niebuhr thus engaged—something that may well shame

those among ourselves who, having never experienced the horrors of servitude and war, laugh at precautions and seem to grudge the slightest personal sacrifice to secure that freedom which our ancestors purchased with their lives. In March, 1813, Niebuhr thus describes his own occupation and the general enthusiasm :

"I come from an employment in which you will hardly be able to fancy me engaged—namely, exercising. Even before the departure of the French, I began to go through the exercise in private, but a man can scarcely acquire it without companions. Since the French left, a party of about twenty of us have been exercising in a garden, and we have already got over the most difficult part of the training. When my lectures are concluded, which they will be at the beginning of next week, I shall try to exercise with regular recruits during the morning, and as often as possible practise shooting at a mark. At such a time, it is worth a great deal to be regularly trained to arms, and it may become a matter of absolute necessity; for we are daily expecting the publication of a law on the Landwehr. It is not yet known whether it is the intention of the government merely to have a Landwehr formed, so that it may be called out eventually and joined to the army, in case the enemy should recover ground again, or whether it is intended to fill up and strengthen the regular army with this levy as soon as it is trained. The latter course appears to me by far the best; if the French beat us in the revolutionary war by means of masses, we must beat them now by the combined force of masses, and a regular army, which they did not then possess. It seems settled that, as a preliminary step, the fortieth of the whole population are to be drawn by lot for the militia. Those only who can prove physical incapacity are exempt, together with clergymen and teachers; all other men, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, must draw lots. From the provisional decree, it seems probable that officials in actual service will be allowed to find substitutes. But as I am not really an acting official, I should certainly be liable to serve; and this being the case, it seems to be the more right and becoming course to come forward voluntarily, that is, to join some of my friends, before the lottery begins, in setting the citizens the example of willing self-devotion. By the end of a month, I hope to be as well drilled as any recruit who is considered to have finished his training. The heavy musket gave me so much trouble at first, that I almost despaired of being able to handle it; but we are able to recover the powers again that we have only lost for want of practice. I am happy to say that my hands are growing horny; for as long as they had a delicate bookworm's skin, the musket cut into them terribly.

"This is certainly a very serious step, if the government are as much in earnest as they ought to be; and since all military ordinances proceed from General Scharnhorst, we may hope that all is really being done that ought to be done, and that the course chosen is the best. But unless the deliverance offered to us by the manifest and wonderful providence of God—after he has chastened us sufficiently for our deeply-rooted sins—find each of us ready to devote his life to its attainment, we cannot be saved. We must not expect the army to conquer our freedom for us; we must conquer it for ourselves, under the guidance of our older and more practised brethren. I mentioned to you, a short time since, my hopes of getting a secretaryship on the general staff. With my small measure of physical power, I should have been a thousand times more useful in that office, than as a private soldier. Since all correspondence, even in our own country, is so fettered, I cannot quite understand what should hinder my friend from granting my request, unless it be a false delicacy about placing me in such a position to himself. Perhaps, however, it may seem odd to the King, whose consent is indispensable to my appointment. The friend I have referred to would like me to enter the ministry, but that is more impossible than ever. Perhaps something unexpected may turn

up yet. Idle, or busy about anything but our liberation, I cannot be now. Perhaps I could aid it by editing a newspaper.

"Not every action, professing to be dictated by patriotism and enthusiasm for freedom, is pure; but none can doubt that there are great sacrifices made from the highest motives. Thus, for instance, a M. Von St. (an officer) has made a present of the whole revenue of his estates to the government, about 3000 thalers; another gives five good working horses, all taken from his farm, to be trained as cavalry horses, 300 measures of corn, maintains a number of baggage horses, and comes forward himself, with two of his servants, all mounted, to join a troop; a Mr. Von B. (formerly an officer) offers himself, with seven or more men, all mounted and armed at his expense, to serve as privates in a cavalry regiment; a banker here has equipped and horsed, one after another, twenty volunteers; a brass-founder has enlisted with all his apprentices and journeymen, and shut up his shop. In Berlin alone, I hear that 11,000 volunteers have inscribed their names. It is so universal to go with joy, that no one can make a boast of it; to betray the contrary feeling would bring disgrace. When the King wanted to leave Potsdam, a levy of horses was required; though the French were masters in the country, every horse was offered without exception. In the same way the so-called *cocked-hats* (trained soldiers, some of whom are on furlough, and the rest disbanded in ordinary times), came forward everywhere voluntarily; they were collected under the very eyes of the French, and sent off to Silesia. They only asked eagerly, whether it was certain they were to be led against the French; and the officers dared not assure them of it, except by hints. That these armings, and the raising and marching of the volunteers, should take place while the French army was actually occupying the country, is a most singular and notable circumstance. When the cockade was assumed here, the French unquestionably expected an insurrection. It shows the extent of their fear, that they never ventured to arrest any one; for uninterrupted communications were carried on with the Russian troops, and this was known to so many, that the French had, no doubt, full intelligence of it. In case of any emergency, I kept a pair of pistols and a musket loaded in my room. Such times form an admirable education."—I. 369—372.

A post more congenial to his talents and habits was, however, assigned him. He was summoned to the head-quarters of the King of Prussia and Emperor of Russia, at Dresden, and at once employed as one of the representatives of Prussia in the central council of the allies, in arranging the provisional administration of the German countries re-conquered from Napoleon, and especially in negotiating with Lord Stewart respecting the subsidies to be advanced by England, and drawing up a commercial treaty between England and Prussia. He followed the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns in their retreat after the defeats of Lützen and Bautzen, the latter of which battles he witnessed; accompanied them to Prague, where he fell ill and was obliged to remain till late in the autumn, and returned to Berlin in November. The happiness of recovered freedom for Europe was to him mingled with uneasy apprehensions, caused by the ill-health and constantly-increasing weakness of his wife. In the spring of 1815, her symptoms became so much more alarming, that Madame Hensler hastened to Berlin to share in Niebuhr's cares and fatigues.

"Her sister lingered to the 21st of June, when she died in the arms of her husband. He had never spoken to her of her approaching death, much as he longed to receive her parting wishes, because the physician forbade all excitement. Once only, a few days before her death, as he was holding her in his arms, he asked her if there was no pleasure that he could give her,—

nothing that he could do for her sake? She replied with a look of unutterable love, 'You shall finish your History, whether I live or die.' This request was ever present to his mind, and he regarded its fulfilment as a sacred duty, though years elapsed before he was able to resume his work."

The depth of his affliction was proportioned to the happiness which he had enjoyed; and though he recognized the duty of resignation and fortitude, it was long before he recovered from the profound depression which followed his bereavement. The society of Madame Hensler, who remained with him for several weeks, was of infinite service to him; and on her return to her friends, he accompanied her for a short time to Holstein. Meanwhile, the government had given him an appointment which led to an important change in his position, and brought him again into political life. He was desired to proceed as ambassador to Rome, to negotiate a concordat with the Pope. He accepted it as a matter of duty, but did not from various causes set out for some time. He passed a solitary winter in a state of depression which seriously affected his health, and was only relieved by the arrival in spring of Madame Hensler and her niece, Margaret Hensler, to whom he after some time engaged himself; and she became his second wife previous to his departure for Rome, which took place in July, 1816.

The following letter, written Aug. 5, 1815, on his return to Berlin after accompanying Madame Hensler to Holstein, beautifully expresses his grief and deep affection:

"This date would be a sufficient token that I have reached the end of my journey, to you, and to our brothers and sisters, who will most likely be at your house, when this reaches you, expecting to hear some tidings of the poor friend who has left them. Indeed, I cannot write much more for weariness, from which, owing to the heat of the weather, added to the depression produced by my loneliness, I am suffering much more now, than on the more fatiguing journey to Lubeck with you.

"I arrived here to-day at noon, and found no letters. I feel extremely exhausted. This is only temporary; but shall I ever cease to feel the void, the desolation in my home, which now crushes and deadens my heart? I doubt if these feelings will yield even to the most strenuous occupation. Time will show. I had the same sort of feelings once before, eighteen years ago, when I returned to Copenhagen after my engagement with Milly, and after I had spent so long a time with you; I conquered them then, but it was a terrible struggle. However, I must do as well as I can. On the journey, my eyes often filled with tears, but the constant onward motion did me good, though it was through a very tame country. Now, I sit before the objects which ought to cheer the mind by giving it full occupation, as a sick man, who loathes food, sits before a table which has been carefully spread with all that would please his palate, were he in health.

"God reward you for your presence when Milly died, and for staying with me afterwards! If you could have remained here longer, if you were here now, I should feel differently; but it could not be, and perhaps it is best as it is. You have again left me a treasure in your remembrance. Oh that I were not so thirsting for conversation, or, rather, for sympathy; that I cannot get used to having no creature with whom I can talk of the past! Only to have a child, like little Sophy, with me that I loved, would be worth more to me now than the most intellectual society. But it is needless to paint to you the feeling of loneliness with which I sit within these dreary walls. It was by the same road that I came to Prussia with Milly; for the most part, the same by which we returned last autumn; I entered the city by the same gate, drove along the same streets. I was so unused to live alone that it made me

quite dependent. My inward consciousness refuses to believe that I am alone, even more now, than when you were still here, and I could have the consolation of speaking of my sorrow with you. When I awake from sleep, for the first moment I cannot believe in my solitude. You know how, when the news of victory first came, and every time fresh tidings of advance were brought us, I always used to turn round, as if I could still go to her bedside and tell her about it. I feel as if Milly or you *must* be near and within reach, as you always have been in past times, for me to tell you all that is in my thoughts.

"There is, indeed, no need to cherish and feed these feelings to render them lasting; but to try to repress them would seem to me a sin, and a renunciation of the only medium of communication by which I can reach Milly, and afford her the one blessing which was indispensable to her in life. But the difficulty will be to combine the emotion which arises from this, with the firmness, without which I should be more liable than ever to sink under my grief."—II. 6, 7.

His journey to Rome, in which he was accompanied by Brandis (now Professor at Bonn) as Secretary of Legation, and his residence there, which extended from 1816 to 1823, occupy a great portion of the second volume, and are described almost entirely by his own letters. In passing through Verona, he made his celebrated discovery of the hitherto lost Institutes of Gaius, which was soon after edited from the almost illegible palimpsest MS. by Gœschen and Bekker, sent for the purpose by the Academy of Berlin. The first four years after his arrival in Rome were spent in the merely routine business of the embassy, as his instructions for the concordat were not sent him till 1820. His intercourse was chiefly confined to Germans and English; with the Italians he had little sympathy of any kind, and expresses frequently considerable contempt and almost dislike of them both as to character and attainments. He occupied himself as far as practicable with his own philological studies, and his search among the stores of the Vatican was rewarded by several discoveries of classical fragments, which excited the jealousy of the Abbé Mai, the discoverer of the MS. of Cicero's Republic. In April, 1817, his first child, a son, was born, to whom he gave the name of Marcus. He had afterwards four other children, viz., three daughters, and a son who died in infancy. When other occupations permitted it, he went on with the composition of his History, but with less satisfaction to himself, as well as less facilities for the work, than when he resided in Berlin. In 1821, the concordat was concluded, after negotiations carried on at a time of extraordinary difficulty, owing to the revolutionary disturbances in Naples in the early part of the year. The chief object of his mission being accomplished, Niebuhr was desirous of leaving Rome, but remained, at the suggestion of the ministry at home, until the summer of 1823. On his return on furlough to Germany, having visited Bonn for the purpose of seeing Brandis (who had given up his Secretaryship in 1818, and been succeeded by Bunsen), he determined to select it as his place of residence till it should be finally decided whether he should return to Rome.

A few extracts from his letters during his residence in the Eternal City will explain themselves. Here is one recording his early impressions of the place:

"Rome, 30th October, 1816.

"It makes me very uneasy that I have still no answer from Savigny to my announcement of the discovery I made at Verona. The letters to me must

be detained somewhere on the road, for you would never *all* keep silence to me and Gretchen in this manner.

"It is extremely depressing while we can receive no sympathy in conversation, to be deprived of all communication by which my mind can be roused into life. I shall never be able to feel at home here. Anything from Germany, even a leaf from the '*Allgemeine Zeitung*,' is the most welcome acquisition to me in this foreign land.

"I have indeed some German fellow-countrymen here; but it is with them as I expected. Among the artists, the two whose conversation I find the most agreeable, are Cornelius and Wilhelm Schadow. The latter is particularly refined and intellectual; but he is unfortunately a convert to Catholicism. Overbeck, to whom he yields precedence as an artist, and whose physiognomy is very prepossessing, is taciturn and melancholy. Rome is a terrible place for any one who is melancholy, because it contains no living present to relieve the sense of sadness; the present is revolting, and in what exists, there is not the slightest trace of antiquity to be recognised; there are not even any remains of the Church of the middle ages. It does no good (to me especially) to be thrown back upon works of art and nothing but works of art. My colleagues are tolerably agreeable people. Among the Italians you seek in vain for even *interesting* conversation, although this would be far from sufficient for me now. There is only one man of talent and mental activity here, at least among the philologers and historians—an old ex-Jesuit on the borders of the grave; and he repeats the verdict which I have already heard from the lips of the few old men in whom I have become acquainted with the relics of a more intellectual age; '*l'Italia è spenta: è un corpo morto*;' and I find it so. Cardinal Gonsalvi is an intellectual man, and would be really distinguished among any ministers of any court. I have found some intelligent men among the prelates, but we Germans and they find each other's society devoid of stimulating influence; many of our thoughts may be mirrored in each other's minds, but pass away, and exert no living power. The aged and venerable Pope received me with remarkable kindness and affability; I staid to dinner with his chaplain, and it was about the brightest day I have spent since my arrival. So far from there being any truth in the absurd rumour, that the court of Rome had protested against me personally, it turns out that they have looked forward to my coming with great pleasure, and certainly no Catholic ambassador can boast of a more distinguished and friendly reception." II. 66, 67.

These relate to his first-born:

"30th April, 1817.

"The child is full of health; he looks briskly about him, and already begins to take notice. I can handle it very well; and it becomes quiet with me directly.

"I am thinking a great deal about his education. I told you, a little while ago, how I intended to teach him the ancient languages very early, by practice. I wish the child to believe all that is told him; and I now think you right in an assertion, which I have formerly disputed, that it is better to tell children no tales, but to keep to the poets. But while I shall repeat and read the old poets to him in such a way that he will undoubtedly take the gods and heroes for historical beings, I shall tell him at the same time, that the ancients had only an imperfect knowledge of the true God, and that these gods were overthrown when Christ came into the world. He shall believe in the letter of the Old and New Testaments, and I shall nurture in him from his infancy a firm faith in all that I have lost, or feel uncertain about. He shall learn to perceive and to observe, and thus grow familiar with Nature, and nourish his imagination."—II. 101, 102.

"18th May.

"Gretchen still does not gain ground as I could wish, and my everlasting feverish colds are continually returning.

"On Friday, the baby was christened by the name I told you. I stood proxy for you, Brandis, Bunsen, Platner, Cornelius, Schadow and Overbeck, for Savigny, Behrens, Jacobi, Schön and Nicolovius. Madame Von Pohnheim was his other godmother. An English clergyman performed the ceremony according to the solemn ritual of the Established Church. I was deeply affected, and repeated the vows for my child with my whole heart. Even the Catholics who were present could not help confessing the sublimity of this liturgy. The baptism was followed by a prayer for and with the mother, which is repeated kneeling. I held the child in your name.

"He is coming on famously. It often gives me a melancholy feeling when, in the evening, he stretches out his arms towards the light, and makes us carry him to the window, where he gazes up into the sky with a fixed, bright, serious look; then the recollection comes over me of how Milly, too, gazed up into the sky the last time that we took her out. I thank Heaven that I can at least shed tears over this remembrance.

"With my old friend Playfair I have renewed the times of my youth, and am glad to find that there are some in Scotland who still retain an affectionate remembrance of me. The dear old man and I parted with heavy hearts. The Marquis of Lansdowne regrets that I am not Ambassador in London. I harmonise very well with the English nation, and am sure that I should soon feel at home among them. How I miss writing to my father now, when I meet with people from distant countries and ask them questions! I have made the acquaintance of an intelligent priest from the neighbourhood of Nineveh, an Abyssinian; and of an Englishman who has lived for twenty years in the wilds of North America."—II. 102, 103.

Speaking of a theological pamphlet that appeared on occasion of the Tricentenary of the Reformation, he says,

"March, 1818.

"I agree with Harms in all that he says about the irreligiousness of a system of morals on an independent basis; and further, in his aversion to a Christianity which is none, and I even approve of his personalities against many of your Holstein theologians. But I consider his limitation of genuine Christianity to the symbolical books, and his zeal against the union of the Protestant churches, as an error. All who are acquainted with church history know, that no system of doctrine respecting redemption, hereditary sin, grace, &c., existed for at least the first two centuries after Christ; that on these points, opinions and teaching were unfettered, and that those were never considered as heretics who simply accepted the Creed (the so-called *Symbolum Apostolicum*), kept in communion with the Church, and were subject to her discipline. Now certainly this test would be amply sufficient to exclude those hypocritical pastors who only nominally belong to the Church; for such *cannot* accept this confession of faith. This Creed, together with a simple faith in the contents of the New Testament as the revealed word of God, is at once sufficient and indispensable; but I do not see why we should desire to impose any further yoke. The orthodox divines of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries subscribed to the symbolical books with a fulness of conviction which we cannot possess now, because they are a systematic body of doctrine, and the systems of one century are uncongenial with the mental habits of another. But it was this party which persecuted the most pious men of those times—Paul Gerhard, Franke and Spener. If the golden age of Christian liberty subsisted within the limits I have mentioned, why must we now have slavery?

"Next, as to the union of the Churches.* I should say that one must be a Eutychian to lay any stress upon the dogma of consubstantiation. A pietist, for whom I have a great regard, delights in the idea of union; for, he says,

* "The union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches.

'that of which I am convinced is, that the Lord's Supper is a promised and miraculous means of conveying strength and sanctification, but all that simply concerns verbal interpretation is very unimportant to me; and the form of the ceremony, and the theological doctrine respecting it, are as indifferent to me, as it was to the blind man whether his eyes were touched with clay and spittle, or with anything else. But it is not indifferent to me whether we Protestants remain divided or not, considering our present position between an active mysticism and Catholicism. But for our divisions, the whole of Germany would have become Protestant, and the misfortune of the Thirty Years' War would never have taken place.' Luther's position was very different from ours, and the use of historical insight is to show us clearly how a thing may be wise at one time which is not so at another. After all, the most difficult matter is to walk in humility, and to govern oneself."—II. 119, 120.

And in another letter, written about the same time,—

"Moreover, a Christianity after the fashion of the modern philosophers and pantheists, without a personal God, without immortality, without human individuality, without historical faith, is no Christianity at all to me; though it may be a very intellectual, very ingenious philosophy. I have often said, that I do not know what to do with a metaphysical God, and that I will have none but the God of the Bible, who is heart to heart with us.

"Let him who can bring the God of metaphysics into harmony with the God of the Bible; and he who can accomplish this, will be authorized to write symbolical books that shall be a law to all ages. He who grants the absolute impossibility of solving the main problem, which can only be approached by asymptotes, will not grieve over the inevitable consequence, our possessing no *system* of religion. Many passages in the Bible admit of various interpretations; are these made a matter of controversy among pious people? There is a remarkable and noble passage on this point in Tertullian, who, nevertheless, was a true zealot."—II. 123, 124.

The character and effects of a government of priests are thus estimated in a letter to Jacobi:

"26th June, 1818.

"Little as the admirers of Italy care for my words, I know that I am perfectly correct in saying, that even among the laity you cannot discover a vestige of piety. The life of the Italian is little more than an animal one, and he is not much better than an ape endowed with speech. There is nowhere a spark of originality or truthfulness. Slavery and misery have even extinguished all acute susceptibility to sensual enjoyments, and there is, I am sure, no people on the face of the earth more thoroughly *ennuyé*, and oppressed with a sense of their own existence, than the Romans."

"The present government have undertaken the task of introducing tolerable civil security by police, in the midst of ever-increasing wickedness and degradation—a system of constraint and terror that may impose fetters upon the wild passions of the animal man.

"They never so much as think of securing at least his physical comfort; he may sink into deeper and deeper misery, but he shall fear blows and the galleys more than he cares for his own instincts. Surrounded by an omnipresent espionage of police, conscious how he himself would be ready to accuse and betray any other man for a certain reward, Dread shall be his supreme deity. In the metropolis, this has succeeded to astonishment, and crimes of violence upon the person are rarer than in other capitals. The cavaletto, or flogging machine, is nearly permanent, and during the carnival literally so. The police regulations for the carnival, for the theatres which are open then, and for all public festivities, sound revolting, and they are carried into execution. There is no criminal code at all, but the punishments are quite arbitrary."

"Dear Jacobi, I could not venture to say openly to our German patriots, what I do not hesitate to write to my government, that the overthrow of Buonaparte's rule has been the greatest calamity to Rome, and the restoration of the old government the greatest sin against the nation. They could no longer proceed in their old careless routine; they were forced either to adopt wiser or more ruinous measures, and the former course was impossible.

"God knows whither their present course is tending, since there is no prospect of reform and alleviation. Did not Woldemar,* who lived in a golden age compared to the present, declare that he knew not how a change was to come without a deluge or a miracle? The Jeremiades on the misery of Rome under Buonaparte are the stupid twaddle of ignorant artists. To extirpate priestcraft, such as it was and is, was a necessary amputation, and, *on the whole*, it was performed—my friends may cry out against me as they will—with discretion, forbearance, and moderation; the people were employed and cared for. The population of the city was suddenly diminished, but those who remained would soon have found themselves much better off, and all things would have been brought into a natural course. The number of births increased rapidly, the priests were no longer able to command or permit abortion; the number of deaths diminished incredibly. The conscription was disliked, but was wholesome for the people; a French regiment was a school of honour and morality to an Italian, as much as it is of corruption to a German. Some life was awakened among the higher classes; they began to take some interest in things, and very much, perhaps all that is possible, would be gained for the Romans if they were to recover animation. There were a pretty good number of criminals executed without the attendance of a priest, consequently condemned to eternal damnation; while now, in the opinion of the common people, every criminal who is executed goes fully absolved into heaven. The officials set the Romans a pattern of liberality and conscientiousness, and the *fournisseurs* were models of strict integrity and humanity, to the managers of hospitals. All this you will not misunderstand."—II. 131—133.

There is admirable wisdom in his remarks on the conduct of the German governments after Kotzebue's murder:

"28th August, 1819.

"Unfortunately our men do not perceive that in this case no coercive measures can avail; indeed nothing can do good but a government whose wisdom and virtue should put the deluded to shame, and win over and appease the universities. My despatches have often given me an opportunity of expressing my views respecting the inward disease of all States; and while no man can find so much as a pretext for denouncing me as an adherent of revolutionary sentiments, I have openly expressed my sense of the deficiencies of our government.

"I have sought to make it intelligible that they are presuming and seeking for a conspiracy where there is a sect. The latter is perhaps more dangerous than the former, but it cannot be crushed, even if composed of men of a different stamp from those who took part in this hazardous enterprise among us; a crusade against them is as fruitless as against a religious sect. Much has been done in ignorance; did the governments take the right course, they would rule over loving subjects, and a few fiery heads, such as always exist, would find no materials on which to work. Now, when the sect has acquired firmness and consistency, the only prudent course is to soothe them by adopting wise and good measures, neither yielding to them, nor yet directly irritating them. There has never yet been a sect which did not contain some grain of truth, and this grain is what we must seek to appropriate; if we do so, the residuum of folly and perverseness will fall to pieces of itself before a firm yet kind opposition; but if you attack it, just as it stands, you often find

* "Woldemar was the title of a novel written many years previously by Jacobi.

it invincible, and at all events place yourself in a very dangerous position."—II. 156.

It was not till late in 1824 that Niebuhr was definitively released from his ambassadorship, and felt himself able to resume in earnest his *History of Rome*. He had indeed composed part of the third volume in the previous winter, but had been interrupted by two journeys to Berlin, the latter at the request of the government, who wanted his assistance in carrying out the erection of a national bank, and settling the tenure of land among the Westphalian peasantry. In the spring of 1825, on settling in Bonn, he returned once more to his favourite studies, and although holding no official appointment, began to deliver courses of historical lectures at the University, which he continued until his death. He now also devoted himself seriously to the long-delayed work which he regarded as the task and vocation of his life. Before writing out the third volume, he determined to revise the two former ones, as his researches since their publication had rendered advisable some modifications and additions. This cost him great labour, and proved in fact nearly equivalent to a re-writing of the whole. The first volume in its revised form was finished in the summer of 1826. In the beginning of 1827, he commenced the revision of the second. The third was not completed when he died, and its publication was superintended by his friend and disciple, Professor Classen.

The reception which the work met with both in Germany and abroad, especially in England, was a source of great gratification to him. He was applied to by booksellers and literary men in France and England for his sanction and assistance in translating it, and this he granted, sometimes to the interruption of his further studies. He considered the most successful translation to be that by Hare and Thirlwall, executed at the expense of the University of Cambridge.

His comparatively retired life at Bonn was enlivened by frequent visits from literary friends in Germany and from eminent men from other countries. Among these were many of our own countrymen, for with England he had always kept up a more intimate connection, and felt himself more at home, than with any other foreign country. He was also several times visited by the present King of Prussia, then Crown Prince, who had been his pupil in Berlin.

Though no longer actively engaged in politics, Niebuhr continued to watch with undiminished interest the progress of contemporary events, and the comments on them which occur from time to time in his letters are in the highest degree instructive. He strongly sympathized with the Greeks in their struggle for independence, and was much depressed by the defeat they suffered in 1826. He was a sincere friend of liberty and progress, but he dreaded violent changes, and believed that revolutions, where a people was untrained for self-government, were worse than useless. He regarded with no little anxiety the political state of Europe, which awakened in him grave apprehensions for the safety of real liberty and even of civilization. It seems to have been his deliberate opinion that the tendency of our time is towards barbarism; and however this may differ from the self-gratulatory conclusions which Englishmen are apt to draw from their own prosperity and progress, it must not be forgotten that but few men have been qualified as he was, at once by penetrating genius and long experience, to discern the far-off

results of the causes in operation in the present. Taking some of his remarks in connection with the events of 1848 and the blank and prostrate condition of Europe at this moment, one cannot fail to be struck with the warning his words convey. The following was written soon after the last great event which Niebuhr lived to witness, the revolution of 1830, when to most observers the prospects of constitutional liberty seemed brightening on the continent. He is writing to Savigny.

“Bonn, 16th November, 1830.

“The preface (to his second volume) expresses my views about the future, with that strict correspondence with my thoughts, which I always endeavour to observe. It is my firm conviction that we, particularly in Germany, are rapidly hastening towards barbarism, and it is not much better in France.

“That we are threatened with devastation, such as that two hundred years ago, is, I am sorry to say, just as clear to me, and the end of the tale will be, despotism enthroned amidst universal ruin. In fifty years, and probably much less, there will be no trace left of free institutions or the freedom of the press throughout all Europe, at least on the Continent.”—II. 392.

It is little more than twenty years since this was written, and its complete fulfilment seems almost at hand. Russia, on whom every despot relies for aid, is silently but surely spreading her baneful influence over the continent, while England, absorbed in the pursuit of material wealth, and raising the hopes of freedom only to disappoint them, seems no longer able to protect even her own subjects from insult.

Niebuhr died of inflammation of the lungs on the 1st of January, 1831, and his wife, whose health had been always feeble, was carried off by a similar attack only nine days after him. His children were placed under the care of Madame Hensler at Kiel.

In taking leave of this delightful book, we cannot but offer our thanks, on behalf of English readers, to the translator for having made accessible to them a collection of letters so full at once of interest and instruction. The singularly beautiful character they portray is one which Englishmen will both admire and love, for it was endowed with all those qualities which they value most highly in themselves. Seldom has the far-reaching sagacity of the statesman been so attractively combined with the accomplishments of the scholar and the simplicity and moral excellence of the Christian, as in the character of Niebuhr; and in enabling us to become acquainted for ourselves with the wisdom of his words and the beauty of his example, the translator has indeed done good service. Nor must we conclude without recording our sense of the manner in which she has performed her task, both in selecting from the larger collection such letters as are most characteristic of the writer, and in rendering these into pure and idiomatic English. Her book, indeed, is so free from the crudities which often deform translations from the German, that it scarcely reads like a translation at all. We sincerely hope that the literary ability which the successful execution of a task like this displays, may ere long be again employed on some equally attractive selection from the abundant stores of German Literature.

B.

HISTORY OF THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER.*

MONOGRAPHS of important periods of history will always be welcome to the historical student. The fulness of detail which is requisite in order to give a complete picture of an age, would be impracticable in a history extending over many centuries; and the minute research into evidence which is necessary to full conviction, would weary the reader who looks only for results. The elaborate treatment of a detached period is useful, too, as furnishing a criterion of the accuracy of histories of wider scope. To compare the statements of Hume or Lingard with their authorities, from the invasion of Britain by the Romans down to the Revolution, would be a labour not much inferior to that of writing their books; but an author who takes a small portion of their histories, and sifts it thoroughly, affords us the means of estimating their general character.

The history of the House of Lancaster is particularly susceptible of being treated as an episode. Connected as this period is with that of the Plantagenets on the one side, and of the Tudors on the other, it has characters which separate it from both. There is something like the *nexus* of a tragedy in the rise, prosperity and decline of the Lancastrian dynasty. Commencing with usurpation and murder on the part of Henry IV., it rose to the highest pitch of power and splendour ever enjoyed by an English sovereign, when Henry V., by the treaty of Troyes, received the hand of the heiress of France and the reversion of the kingdom. The loss of all these unjustly acquired dominions in the reign of Henry VI., the misfortunes and miserable fate of that monarch, and the devastation of England in the Wars of the Roses, form the *peripeteia* of the tragedy and the moral of the story.

The history of France during the same period is not less tragic nor less instructive, but it begins in misfortune and ends in prosperity. During the earlier part of it, that kingdom was suffering under a calamity heavier than the woe denounced by the wise man on the land "whose king is a child;" Charles VI. was a lunatic, and, worst of all, a lunatic with intervals of imperfect sanity, allowing him occasionally to exercise the functions of royalty. The custody of his person, and the consequent control of the government, was an object of contention between his brother, the Duke of Orleans, and his uncle, the Duke of Burgundy,—a vassal at once so powerful and so near the throne, that the temptation to usurp the supreme authority was irresistible. There was no crime too atrocious for these princes and the factions which they formed, in order to gain power or dispossess the opposite party. Private morality, respect for oaths, love of their common country, loyalty to their sovereign—all gave way to the lust of power and thirst of revenge. No page of French history, hardly any in the history of the world, is stained with a more revolting exhibition of cruelty, treachery and want of principle, than that which records the wars and factions of the Burgundian and Orleans parties. Had they not been accompanied by national as well as private calamity, the readers of history might well have asked, "*Credimus esse Deos?*" Both came in

* History of England and France under the House of Lancaster. With an Introductory View of the Early Reformation. London—Murray. 1852.

an ample measure of retribution. The events which form such a striking exemplification of the connection of guilt with suffering, arrange themselves in a sort of historic *trilogy*. The first tragedy was the murder of the Duke of Orleans in 1407, by Jean Sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy, who, in order to secure his victim, had not only eaten and drunk, but partaken of the Holy Communion with him just before, followed by a general massacre of the Orleanists in Paris. This led to their alliance with England, to the invasion of France and the defeat of Azincour. The next drama opens with the assassination of the Duke of Burgundy by the Orleanists on the bridge of Montereau, and its retribution in the closer alliance of Burgundy with England, the alienation of Paris from the King, the complete humiliation of France in the treaty of Troyes, and the impending loss of its last hope, the city of Orleans. Its cause seemed desperate, but light arose in the darkness. Though the French nobility had been cut off in the battles of Azincour and Verneuil, or had sold themselves to the enemies of their country, the heart of the nation was sound, and the attachment of the common people to their sovereign shewed itself the more strongly in proportion to his abandonment by all other supports. At length, in the crisis of his and his country's fate, the Maid of Arc appears, like the *Dea ex machina*, to cut the knot which was too complicated for human hands to untie; reverse follows reverse, till Calais alone remains in the hands of the invaders. England, which had fomented the civil discords of France, is punished by a civil war in her own bosom. The wheel of destiny makes a complete revolution. Henry VI., over whose cradle the crowns of England and France hung united, after being the football of Fortune during his long life, dies of a broken heart, or by the dagger of a kinsman.

Such is the history of the House of Lancaster, fruitful alike in events and in lessons. It is time that, by some extracts, we should give our readers an idea of the manner in which the author of the work before us has availed himself of the capabilities of his subject. Our first shall be the description of Henry the Fifth's reception in London after the battle of Azincour:

"The return of Henry to England with his captives and his booty was, as might be expected, greeted with every demonstration of joy by the multitude, too giddy either to reflect on the origin or on the result of national quarrels, and ever prone, especially in a rude age, to take peculiar delight in the contemplation of warlike exploits, and exalt above all other classes of men those who have led their followers to victory. The passage from Calais was so tempestuous, that some vessels of the fleet were driven as far as the Dutch coast. Yet the height of the waves did not restrain the burgesses of Dover from rushing into the sea, and the King was borne ashore in their arms! The magistrates and the secular clergy, with the friars, assembled in procession to receive him. His journey to the capital was, through the towns especially, a triumphal progress. At Blackheath, he was met by the mayor, aldermen and commons of London, attired in more than the accustomed gorgeousness of civic pomp, and departing from their constant usage of remaining within the city walls. The metropolitan clergy waited on him, bearing in solemn order the relics of seventy saints. The whole city gave itself up to boundless rejoicing, in the outward signs of which the vulgar taste of the age shone forth with signal glare. The gates and the streets were lined with tapestry, picturing the ancient victories of the English arms. Laurels in whole thickets were every where displayed; children appeared

aloft, representing cherubs, and chanting hymns, in which the praises of the King were mingled with those of the Almighty; and, that more substantial objects might regale the senses, artificial rills of the luscious wines deemed in those times the most precious were so conducted as to diffuse copiously this esteemed beverage. The conqueror thought fit to interpose and restrain the flattery of the day. Devoutly ascribing the success of his arms to Heaven alone, he stopped the procession at St. Paul's, that he might there make his offerings before he reached his palace; and he forbade all further celebration of his victory, either by the poesy or the songs of his obsequious people. So overpowered, indeed, was he with humility, that he would not suffer his helmet to be borne before him, lest the blows which it had received and withstood might be exhibited to the admiration of the spectators. But it was otherwise with him at the ensuing festival of Christmas: that he caused to be celebrated with more than ordinary solemnity, and with every kind of feasting as well as pomp. A general thanksgiving was likewise held for the late successes, and the Divine aid supplicated in behalf of a war undertaken without the shadow of just ground, professedly to support the most extravagant of imaginary claims, but really to gratify a sordid love of plunder." Pp. 124—126.

The next extract contains his reflections on the execution of the Maid of Arc:

"This is truly a painful passage of history, and the rather that so many persons are necessarily the objects of severe censure; for it must be confessed that a deep stain is left upon the memory of every party to the execrable proceeding. That Bedford should have suffered his feelings of revenge so far to master his sense of justice and his cooler judgment of what sound policy prescribed, as to condemn a French subject, never in allegiance to his sovereign, for an offence of which his judges and prelates could not by possibility have any cognizance, seems hard to comprehend; but that a great captain should have treated as an offender, a prisoner of war, taken in open fight by the fortune of war, and even when the fortune of that war alone gave him any power whatever, seems wholly inconceivable. For conduct which nothing can vindicate, his alarm at the impression made on his superstitious soldiery by a belief in her divine mission may perhaps account, though it cannot ever soften the blame which every honourable mind at once pronounces upon it. If, indeed, as some have asserted in his defence, he sacrificed her, against his better judgment, to the popular fury, then truly must his guilt be greatly aggravated in the eyes of all who have ever turned away with indignant scorn from the well-known spectacle of a judge washing his hands of the blame when he had suffered lesser criminals to perpetrate the offence.

"But Charles can hardly be said to have shewn himself less worthy of reprobation. He who owed to the Maid his crown, possibly his liberty or his life, made no effort to rescue her from destruction by ransom, none to save her by threatening reprisals on the English captains in his power. It does not appear that any the least pains were taken by this ungrateful Prince to avert or to stay her fate. When, twenty-five years after her murder, her family exerted themselves to obtain an examination of the case, with a view to reversing the judgment, he favoured their proceeding; and the See of Rome pronounced sentence, relieving her memory from the imputation of heresy. But this was the extent of Charles's gratitude towards his illustrious deliverer. Whether it was that she had, during the operations which succeeded his coronation, shewn less than her former determination, and been less fortunate in the fights she bore a part in, or that Charles became weary of hearing her praises, and impatient of each success being ascribed to her, or that the whispers of his jealous officers against her found too easy access to his ear, certain it is that, without the least struggle, he suffered a deed of

atrocious injustice to be perpetrated, which a firm resistance must have prevented. At the height of his fortune, in great part the result of her services, he suffered her family to languish in penury, her mother supported by a weekly dole among the poor of Orleans. No sovereign ever owed a greater debt of gratitude to a subject than Charles owed to the Maid—no man ever proved himself more ungrateful to his benefactor.”—Pp. 295—297.

In an Introduction, the author treats of the early history of the Reformation in England as begun by Wycliffe. Dr. Lingard, in pursuance of the purpose to discredit Protestantism, which is manifest through the transparent garb of a cautious phraseology, insinuates that the insurrection of the villeins in the reign of Richard II. was produced by the doctrines of Wycliffe. “They were encouraged to resistance,” he says, “by the diffusion of his doctrines that the right of property was founded in grace, and that no man who was by sin a traitor to his God could be entitled to the services of others. At the same time, itinerant preachers sedulously inculcated the natural equality of mankind and the tyranny of artificial distinctions” (IV. 236). What *encouragement* Wycliffe’s doctrines may have given to the insurgents is matter of opinion; Lingard produces not a single quotation in proof of such an influence, and he has himself assigned sufficient causes for the popular movement throughout Europe, in “the unwillingness of men to wear the chains which had been thrown round the necks of their fathers by a haughty aristocracy, the progressive improvement of society, the gradual diffusion of knowledge, and, above all, the wars by which Europe had been lately convulsed” (p. 235). That in fact Wat Tyler’s insurrection had no connection with Wycliffe’s preaching, is conclusively argued by our author from a variety of circumstances.

“This accusation was reserved for the zeal of the Romanists in our own times,* and we may here stop for a moment to shew how entirely it is destitute of support.

“Whatever tendency may be ascribed to the invectives of the Reformers, whether it be that they were addressed to the upper and middle classes, or that the common people remained wholly indifferent to them, certain it is that no attempt was made by the Churchmen of the day to connect the new doctrine with the seditious movements, or to represent its professors as having endangered the public peace by their preaching. Had there been the least pretence of bringing such a charge against them, we may be well assured that adversaries so zealous as Walsingham and Knighton would eagerly have caught hold of the topic, more especially when we find them dwelling on the wickedness of the people in having called down the judgment of Heaven.† Their silence affords a conclusive argument in favour of the Reformers; but it is not the only ground on which their defence may be rested. The proceedings of the multitude proved them to be actuated by views and feelings the

* “Lingard, III. 236 (Rich. II.).

† “T. Walsingham (p. 281) gives three several and distinct causes of the tumults, regarding them as judgments of Heaven. *First*, upon the prelates, for not prosecuting with severity the partizans of the new heresy. *Secondly*, upon the lords, for their bad lives and atheistical principles, and their tyranny over the community. *Thirdly*, upon the wicked lives of the community themselves. As regards the supineness of the prelates, he declares the breaking out of the insurrection on the day of Corpus Domini to constitute a proof of its being judicial. But not a word does he or H. Knighton say of the Wycliffites as having by their preaching caused any discontent, or stirred up any sedition among the common people.

very reverse of those which guided the followers of Wycliffe. The insurgents made the schoolmasters whom they captured swear never to teach the children. The oath by which they bound themselves was directed against the Duke of Lancaster by name; and they murdered a Franciscan friar merely because he was the Duke's favourite. The confessions of the original leaders declared that their plan was to spare the mendicant friars in the massacre. The complaints which the Lords made to the Parliament afford the last proof which I shall give of the same position. These complaints were directed against the villeins some time before the tumults, and shew that the gathering storm had been observed. Reference is made to similar outbreaks which had taken place in France; but not a word is said of the new doctrine or its preachers. In truth, the insurrection was confined to the lower orders, especially the peasants and villeins, and with that class the Reformers and their opinions had not found favour. But though there can be no doubt that the Reformers were wholly without any share in the insurrection, yet that event proved unfavourable to their doctrines."—Pp. 16—18.

Wycliffe enjoyed the advantage of a powerful protector, and, to say the truth, does not seem to have courted the honour of martyrdom. His disciple, Lord Cobham, in the reign of Henry V., was less fortunate and less timid. Our author dwells with evident pleasure on the history of this excellent and accomplished nobleman, and has elaborately examined the grounds of the charge advanced by Hume, and suggested through an *if* by Lingard, that he had been a party to the insurrection of St. Giles's Fields in 1414. He had been condemned in the preceding year on a charge of heresy, the most grievous article of which seems to have been, that he declared "the Pope to be the head of Antichrist, the priests, prelates and monks the body, and the begging friars the tail." The execution of this sentence he had escaped by a flight into Wales, and the place of his retreat was unknown for many months. During this time he seems to have been the bugbear of the government and the secret object of the people's hopes. It is not unlikely that the Lollards, finding themselves cruelly persecuted, may have cherished plans of revolt, and connected them with the name of the illustrious chief of their party. Wherever any disturbance took place, the Lollards were supposed to be at the bottom of it, and Cobham to have quitted his place of retreat in order to foment it. It does not appear, however, that these rumours had any farther foundation than a morbid apprehension on the one side, and a groundless expectation on the other. Lord Cobham was surprised, in 1417, on the Welsh marches, by a retainer of Lord Powis, brought to London, and executed on an act of attainder, in which he is described as a traitor to God and a heretic, condemned by sentence of the Spiritual Court. Lingard's whole account of him is a tissue of inaccuracies, mixed up with ungenerous sarcasm.

The author of this work is a zealous Protestant; and not wishing to be thought inferior to him in this respect, we must nevertheless remark, that when he lays down as the grand principle of the Reformation, the distinguishing mark of dissent from the Romish Church, "a fixed determination to suffer no intrusion of any human authority between man and his Maker," many Protestants and all Roman Catholics would dissent from his definition. The Romish Church, and the Pope as its visible head and chief administrator, claim no *human authority* to interpose between man and his Maker; they claim a divine authority,

shewn to reside in them, by the evidence of miracles, repeated from age to age in the Catholic Church, and nowhere else. He might find it difficult, on the other hand, to point out any established Protestant Church which does not intrude between man and his Maker.

A leading object of this history is to deprive the aggressive warrior and ambitious sovereign of the false glory which history and poetry have thrown around them, and in this the author has been very successful. His work exhibits no high talent for historical narrative, nor depth of philosophical reflection, but pure moral and religious principle, and sound constitutional learning. We hope he will continue his labours on other portions of English history.

K.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHAPELS OF HALE AND ALTRINCHAM.

(READ BEFORE THE PROVINCIAL MEETING OF MINISTERS OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE, JUNE 19, 1851.)

HALE CHAPEL.

It is a singular illustration of the obscurity which envelops the Past, that so little positive information can be arrived at respecting a place of worship which dates no farther back than 1723. This arises from the circumstance of no direct record having been kept (or at least none preserved) of chapel proceedings at Hale; almost all our knowledge on the subject being inferential, and derived from incidental and collateral sources. In stating what I have been able to discover respecting the history of this place of worship, I shall keep in mind two heads of arrangement, which seem to be naturally pointed out by the materials possessed:

First, the circumstances which appear to possess any immediate interest in relation to the cause of Presbyterianism in this neighbourhood previously to the building of the chapel;

Secondly, those of a similar nature subsequently to its erection.

Hale chapel is, beyond all doubt, an offset from Ringhay, or Ringey, or Ringway chapel, for so the orthography of the word has varied, the last being at the same time the most modern and most expressive of its true meaning, as it is a township in a ring fence, enclosed within another and larger township, viz. that of Hale. The chapel in this township was, and is, a chapel of ease in the parish of Bowdon, distant about one mile and a half from Hale chapel, and four miles from Altrincham, and four from Wilmslow.* In a notice of Ringhay, in Bishop Gastrell's "*Notitia Cestriensis*," occurs the following description: "Ringhay, a hamlet in Hale township, certified that nothing

* It is thus characteristically mentioned by Sir Peter Leycester in his *Antiquities of Cheshire*: "Here is a hamlet in Hale, called Ringey, wherein is situated a chappel of ease, called Ringey chapel, within the parish of Bowdon; of which I have little to say, save that it was much frequented in the late war by schismatical ministers, and, as it were, a receptacle for non-conformists; in which dissolute times, every pragmatical, illiterate person, as the humour served him, stepped into the pulpit, without any lawful calling thereunto, or license of authority."

belongs to it now [1722], and a long time since in the hands of the Dissenters, who have set up pews and galleries in it, and made an additional building to it, four yards square. But several clergymen have performed divine service in it since the Restoration, particularly Mr. Yates, of Lymm, now living, 1722." In a MS. book in my possession, belonging to Hale chapel, I find the following entry: "A true account of what we, the severall members that ord'narily compose the congregation of Protestant Dissenters at Ringey chapel, in Hale, or we who claim any right to seats therein, do promise to contribute, quarterly, half-yearly or yearly, towards the maintainance of our present minister, during our attendance their, or claiming any seate or seates their: as given under our hands, or promised in the presence of us whose names are hereunto subscribed, in the year 1719-20."

The first name in this list of subscribers is that of the individual who subsequently gave the land on which Hale chapel is built, only reserving a chief-rent of two shillings and sixpence annually, payable to himself and his descendants on the Feast of John the Baptist (23rd June). Afterwards follows a considerable number of names, several of which continue to have representatives among the members of Hale chapel to the present day: among them may be enumerated the names of Whitelegg, Johnson, Hankinson and Warburton. From this list of original subscribers it appears that there were at that time at Ringway chapel 107 contributors, and that one quarter's contributions amounted to £5. 1s. 6d. The subscribers extended over several (rural) townships,—Hale, Mobberly, Ashley and Northern Etchells, are specified.

In the same MS. book is contained a list of "Rules and Resolutions laid down and agreed upon by the Trustees at Hale," among which is one to the effect, that "a book shall be kept by the *Committee*, and all church affairs belonging to the minister and congregation be inserted from time to time in it, to be inspected yearly," &c.; which *good resolution*, unfortunately, was never carried out, there having been no book of this kind ever kept, or at any rate preserved. These rules and resolutions were penned in the MS. book by John Coppock, "*Scribe*."

For the earliest authentic information respecting Nonconforming ministers at Ringway, I am indebted to the Knutsford MS. (a copy of which has been kindly lent me by Mr. Whitehead, our Secretary).^{*} This MS. contains a record of the proceedings of Presbyterian ministers in the county of Chester; the first date in which is 1690-1. But I may perhaps be pardoned for first of all mentioning a conjecture. In Bishop Gastrell's notice of Ringhay occur these words: "Brereton minister here, 1662." Now, from the interesting sketch of the History of Dean-Row chapel, appended to the Rev. J. J. Tayler's Sermon on occasion of that chapel being re-opened, April 23rd, 1845, it appears that a "Mr. John Brereton was ejected from Wilmslow." Is it not probable that this Mr. Brereton became minister at Ringhay; and that, after being expelled from his living at Wilmslow (Williamslow), which was in the patronage of a Tory and Jacobite family, he found an

* Secretary of the Provincial Meeting of Ministers of Lancashire and Cheshire, before whom this paper was read.

asylum at Ringhay, under the protection of the powerful families of the Booths and the Crewes, who were at that time favourable to the Presbyterian cause,—who were, in fact, as abundant evidence can be adduced to prove, themselves Presbyterians?*

However, to return to the Knutsford MS. From this we learn that in 1691, Mr. R. Moseley was the minister of Ringhay chapel. He seems to have occasionally

* The evidence of this, as regards the Booths, arises from various sources.

The following instances of this are selected. "Sir W. Booth, of Dunham, knighted 1578, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Warburton, of Arley" (Ormerod's Cheshire), a family into which the celebrated Matthew Henry subsequently married, and which may be presumed to have been from an early period Presbyterian.—"Sir George Booth, of Dunham Massey, Baronet, grandson of Sir George" (a descendant of the above), and who was created Baron Delamere at the coronation of King Charles the Second, "made a domestick chapel there" (at Dunham) "about 1655, by laying two ground rooms together on the south side of the house." (Orm. Ch.) In this chapel Adam Martindale officiated as domestic chaplain to Lord Delamere, and subsequently the celebrated H. Newcome, of Manchester, frequently preached there. (See their Autobiography, published by the Chetham Society, *passim*.) And of the Lord Delamere by whom this chapel was built, there is this notice in Ormerod, quoted from Clarendon. He "was a person of one of the best fortunes and interests in Cheshire, and, for the memory of his grandfather, of absolute power with the Presbyterians."—Henry, Lord Delamere's second son, and heir of the above nobleman, was one of the most illustrious patriots of this or of any country, and materially assisted in bringing about the Revolution of 1688, in consequence of which he was created Lord Warrington. He, too, was in the early part of his life a Presbyterian, and though he subsequently conformed, yet he still retained the services of Presbyterian ministers in the domestic chapel at Dunham above mentioned. In Newcome's Diary occur the following notices: "1664. Went to Dunham to stay four or five days." "1669, Jan. 12. I was sent for to the Lord Delamere, and went the next morning" (H. N. was then in London), "and baptized his daughter Sophia." In this Diary are many other passages that indicate the close relations maintained by the Dunham family with the Nonconformists. The last is remarkable as a proof of Lord Delamere's Nonconformity, in heart at least, as late as 1669. And throughout his (Lord Delamere's) writings are scattered sentiments, most strongly and pointedly expressed, in favour of what was then called a "comprehension." In one of his addresses as Custos Rotulorum to the Grand Jury at Chester, he uses words to this effect (here I quote from memory):—I have conformed to the Church; many persons deny that I have done so; will any one dare to do it to my face? This proves a previous Nonconformity; and on his trial he thus expresses himself:—Few have conformed more strictly than I, yet I will not deny that I am for a comprehension of those who have not been able to keep pace with me. One remarkable passage (from a great many others) the present writer may be permitted to extract from his Works: "Let all Protestants unite against the common enemy, and forbear all distinctions and revilings; though we may differ in some things, yet let us neither reproach him that goes to his parish church, nor be scandalized at him that goes to a barn; let no man be offended at a liturgy or set form of prayer, nor think extempore prayer is unacceptable to God; every tub must stand on its own bottom; therefore let every man be more careful to *mind* and *mend* his own failings than to observe the faults of others: let every man live up to the doctrines he professes, and sincerely act according to his principles, and prefer the public benefit before any private interest, and then it will go well with them here and hereafter." (Works, p. 626.) This was addressed to the Grand Jury at Chester. I will conclude these notices by quoting an incidental mention of a descendant of the Nonconformist H. Newcome, in the Biography prefixed to the Autobiography recently published, viz., Henry, who became Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, 1753. "I have," says the writer, "yet a list of his pupils, and among them the Hon. Booth and John Grey, descendants from the kind and steady patron of his great-grandfather, Henry, of Manchester." (P. xviii.)

officiated at other places, and referred to the ministers (assembled at Knutsford) to know what plan he should adopt as to the Lord's Supper. "He was advised to administer it in one fixed place, and to desire his friends to resort thither." In 1692, Mr. Moseley obtains consent from the ministers assembled at Mr. Kynaston's (minister of Knutsford) that he may go to Mellor chapel, "provided Mr. Dearniley, or some other approved person, be ready to go" (i. e. to Ringway, as his successor).* "Mr. William Dearniley was recommended to the people by the ministers; and an answer was sent, assenting to the *recommendation*, signed by fifty hands." Mr. Dearniley was ordained at Knutsford, September 29th, 1692. His thesis was, "*An obedientia Christi tollat Christianam obedientiam.*" Mr. Risley objected.

Mr. Dearniley died May 28th, 1701. The following respectful tribute to his memory is recorded in the MS. from which the foregoing information is derived: "Died Mr. Dearniley, minister at Ringhay, a person of great worth. He was one of very good natural parts, and a considerable scholar: of sober and moderate principles, and a blameless and exemplary conversation. Polite and accurate in his composures and performances, but extraordinary for his humility, modesty and fidelity in friendship. He chose two texts to be preached after his decease, viz., Jeremiah xxiii. 36. The other, the Lord's-day, to his people, Hebrews xiii. 1." He was interred at Knutsford chapel.†

After his death, the congregation gave "a unanimous call to Mr. Nicholas Waterhouse, a young man and a candidate for the ministry; having had sufficient trial of him during the time of Mr. Dearniley's weakness, Mr. Waterhouse being mostly the supply he provided for his people. Mr. Waterhouse accepted the call, and so continued at

* The following resolutions, passed at a meeting of "the brethren," held at Mr. Kynaston's, at Knutsford, 24th May, 1692, when Matthew Henry preached, may be quoted as tending to shew the influence of the associated ministers as regarded the settlement or removal of any of their number:

"The case of Mr. Robert Moseley's removal from Ringhay chapel to Mellor chapel being proposed to the ministers and debated, 'twas decreed,—

"I. That Mr. Moseley, for the preventing of any breach among the people, remove not till Mr. Dearniley be ready to come in, or some other approved person.

"II. That if Mr. D., or such other approved by the ministers, may be had, that then Mr. M. may remove as aforesaid, but that it be so managed as not to give offence to those who are desirous of his stay.

"III. That if Mr. D. be disengaged from the Manchester class, he is desired to accept this call to Ringhay chapel.

"IV. That when Mr. D. is ordained, and he, or such other, settled there, Mr. M. shall wholly quit all pastoral relation to the congregation at Ringhay.

"V. That if any of the congregation at Ringhay be dissatisfied with Mr. M.'s removal, their objections shall be heard at the next meeting of ministers, and it shall be taken into further consideration."

† The following notice of Mr. Dearniley occurs in Tonge's *Life of Matthew Henry*. After mentioning that the first of the ordinations of the Cheshire ministers which Mr. Henry attended was at Knutsford, 1692, and that the candidates were Mr. Hartley, Dr. Adam Holland, Mr. Dearniley, &c., he says that "Mr. Henry has recorded it" (in his *Diary*) "as a good day. The candidates, says he, gave good satisfaction, blessed be God, for the rising generation. The Lord double his spirit upon them." Mr. Tonge subjoins, "Four of these candidates are still living. Mr. Dearniley died about the beginning of June, 1701, at Ringhay, in Cheshire, greatly lamented by all that knew how judicious, how humble, how serious and how acceptable a minister he was: his memory is fresh and precious in those parts to this day." (P. 190.)

Ringhay as Mr. Dearniley's successor." (K. MS., p. 32.) Mr. Waterhouse was ordained at Warrington, June 16th, 1702.

I have it on the authority of my venerable predecessor, the Rev. Robert Harrop, that Hale chapel was erected during the ministry of Mr. Waterhouse, in the year 1723, he being the minister who was dispossessed of Ringway, and taking along with him the bulk of the congregation.* The tradition is, that Mr. Waterhouse was forcibly expelled from Ringway by the then resident proprietor of Ashley Hall. This tradition I have lately been enabled to verify through the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Massey, the present incumbent of Ringway, who had the following account (contained in a chapel record) of the circumstance handed down to him from his predecessor, the Rev. Mr. Whittaker, an aged clergyman. "About the year 1721, John Crewe, Esq., of Crewe Hall, inherited the lordship" (of Ringway), "and declared his intention of restoring the chapel to the Established Church. This gave rise to the following circumstance, the report of which I (Rev. Mr. Whittaker) received from John Haughton, Esq., of Baggiley, in February, 1794, when he was near eighty-four years of age. The circumstance is this: — Ashton, Esq., of Ashley Hall (who seldom went to any place of worship†), presuming upon Mr. Crewe's connivance, took it into his head to disturb the Dissenters at Ringway. He came to the chapel one Sunday attended by a number of servants, and seized Mr. Waterhouse by the collar, pulled him down from the pulpit, turned *him* and the congregation out of the chapel and locked up the doors. The Dissenters, however, became re-possessed of the chapel the week following, and continued in it without molestation till it was augmented by the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, when it became a regular chapel by Statute 1 George I., and then a clergyman, licensed by the Bishop, took possession of it. On the Sunday when he first came the Dissenters had begun their worship. The clergyman sat down as a hearer, desired them to go on and finish their service, and he took possession of it in form in the afternoon. Mr. Waterhouse afterwards preached in a barn at the Ashes Farm near the chapel, till a Dissenting meeting-house was erected in Hale in the year 1723, and there continued till his death, which happened June, 1724. [See his epitaph, Bowdon churchyard.]" This affecting account of the violent dispossession of a worthy minister of Christ of the pulpit he had occupied for twenty years, receives indirect confirmation from a note by Canon Raines to Gastrell's account of Ringhay, where it is said "the chapel was rebuilt and consecrated in 1720, shortly after the death of a female of the Crewe family, who had been a Presbyterian and possessed the donative." He adds, "there is a bell here with G. B. upon it," the initials of Sir George Booth, who was, as I have stated before, a Presbyterian.

* The date of the chapel-deed confirms this. I am also enabled to verify this date by an extract from an old diary, commencing date 1700, now in possession of Mrs. Worthington, of Altrincham, and kindly lent to the writer of the present notice. It is the diary (brief and imperfect, however) of John Worthington, Esq., of the Outwood, brother of Rev. Hugh Worthington, first minister of that name at Dean-Row chapel. The entry is to the following effect: "Mr. Owin (Owen) and brother preached first at Ringway or Hale chappel, Octr., 1723."

† He is reputed to have been a very dissolute man.

Mr. Waterhouse was succeeded in the ministry at Hale chapel, we are informed by Dr. Toulmin (see his History, p. 580), by the Rev. Radcliffe Scholefield, who removed from Whitworth, in Lancashire; and Mr. Scholefield was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Sidebottom. The latter gentleman, I find from the old MS. book of Hale chapel before mentioned, was certainly minister there in 1732, and continued so till the year 1747. He was followed by the Rev. Hugh Worthington, Jun., son of Rev. Hugh Worthington, of Dean Row, and cousin of the Rev. Hugh Worthington, of Leicester. He was described to me by the Rev. Mr. Harrop as having been a powerful and popular preacher, and he continued here for the space of about twenty years.* After the cessation of Mr. Hugh Worthington's ministry, there was an interval of about two years, during which there was no settled minister at Hale, and the congregation was supplied from the Warrington academy, under the direction of Dr. Enfield, and principally by the Rev. Ralph Harrison, subsequently minister at Shrewsbury, and afterwards at Cross-Street chapel, Manchester, as successor to Mr. Mottershead. This interval (during which the Hale congregation was without a settled minister) extended from 1767 to 1769. In the latter year, the Rev. Robert Harrop, who had been educated at the academy at Daventry, and first of all undertook the charge of the chapels of Millbrow and Greenacres, near Oldham, received an invitation to Hale, and having accepted it, continued for forty-six years (during thirty-seven of which he held the chapel of Cross Street, Cheshire, conjointly with that of Hale) in the situation of pastor to the religious society

* In the History of Dean-Row chapel, before alluded to as appended to Mr. Tayler's Sermon, is the following inaccuracy, which I beg leave, with all respect to the anonymous writer, to correct. It is there stated that Mr. Hugh Worthington, who succeeded his father at Dean Row, after exercising the ministry thirteen years, resigned his charge and gave up the ministry altogether. In the diary of Mr. John Worthington, of the Outwood, before quoted from, is this entry: "Mr. Worthington preached his last sermon at Dean Row, Sep. 11, 1748." In the same diary is the following entry: "1748, Nov. 22. Mr. Brocklehurst preached at Dean Row, and was chosen our minister." I find from another diary, commenced by Isaac Worthington, Sen., Esq., of Altringham, 1758, and continued to the year 1781, that this Mr. Hugh Worthington, son to the Rev. Hugh Worthington, of Dean Row, was minister of Hale chapel in 1758, and that he continued so until the year 1767. Then occur the following entries: "August 1st, 1767. At Hale, to make Mr. Worthington's will" (the immediate cause of his resignation being probably a serious illness). "Oct. 1st, 1767. At Hale chapel, to consult about a minister." "Sunday, 11th. At Hale. Mr. Harrison preached—a *very young man*, from Warrington." Then, after the names of various ministers who supplied till 1769, occur the following entries: "January 27th, 1769. At Warrington, to see Mr. Seddon about fixing us a minister at Hale." "Sunday, 14th May. At Hale. Mr. Harrop here all night." "June 8th. At Stockport, to engage Mr. Harrop to come to Hale."—Mr. Hugh Worthington, Mr. Harrop's predecessor, continued during this interval in a state of ill health, removed from Hale to Morley, from Morley to Wilmslow, and died there, May 31st, 1773. He was buried at Dean Row, Wednesday, 2nd June, 1773 (diary), and the following epitaph is inscribed on his tombstone, as represented in the account of Dean-Row chapel before alluded to: "Here lieth the body of the Rev. Hugh Worthington, who succeeded his father as minister of Dean-Row chapel in the year 1735; and, after conflicting with many difficulties in this world, he peaceably left it, Oct. 1st, 1773." The writer of this notice has not seen this tombstone or epitaph, but conceives that, through some defacement, the date of death has been misread. At least, he does not know how otherwise to account for the discrepancy.

at Hale with the undivided respect and affection of his flock. At length, in the year 1816, when he had arrived at the age of seventy, in imitation of the venerable Theophilus Lindsey, he resigned his charge. He lived for about twenty-one years after his resignation, and went down to the grave, beloved and honoured by all who knew him, at the age of ninety-one. His mortal remains were deposited in this chapel-yard.* In 1816, the Rev. William Jevons, from York College, was invited to undertake the pastoral charge of the united Presbyterian societies of Hale and Altrincham, and after having conducted the religious services of these places with the approbation and esteem of the people among whom he laboured for a little more than three years, removed to Walthamstow. He was succeeded by the present minister in 1819.†

ALTRINCHAM CHAPEL.

Altrincham chapel (Shaw's Lane) was erected at the sole expense of the congregation, and principally at that of John Worthington, Esq., of Altrincham, in the year 1814. There is some account of the opening of it for public worship in the Monthly Repository for that year; also an incidental notice in Mr. Wright's *Missionary Life and Labours*. It is a simple and not inelegant structure, and was handsomely endowed by Isaac Worthington, Esq.,‡ of Altrincham, great-uncle of Robert Worthington, Esq., now of Crumpsall Hall, near Manchester, and acting trustee to both the chapels. On its erection, the Rev. R. Harrop gave up his connection with Cross-Street chapel, Cheshire, and took the joint charge of the "united societies of Hale and Altrincham." He officiated only for a short time afterwards, and was succeeded as minister of both societies by the Rev. W. Jevons, of Manchester College, York, who was succeeded in 1819 by the present minister.

C. W.

* The burial-ground of Shaw's-Lane chapel, Altrincham.

† It may not be uninteresting to mention the fact of the foundation of a day-school in the township of Hale by Mr. Sidebottom, minister of Hale chapel, who purchased the land, caused a school-house to be erected upon it, and conveyed to trustees (the same trustees as those of Hale chapel), in the year 1740. And also the establishment of a Sunday-school in the year 1788 (the centenary of the Revolution,—the meeting for this purpose being called on the very day of the month, November 5th, that King William landed at Torbay in 1688). This Sunday-school was continued till the year 1815. It was principally supported by subscriptions; and among the subscribers were Lord Stamford (great-grandfather of the present Lord), Sir John Leicester, and other landowners in the neighbourhood. This happened in the Rev. Mr. Harrop's time, and in the time of a gentleman whose name is not to be mentioned in this connection without the greatest respect, Isaac Worthington, Esq., for more than fifty years steward to the property of the Dunham family. Some day scholars also were educated out of the funds of the Sunday-school, and an allowance was made for teaching the children singing. For causes of which no record is left, the school was broken up in 1815 until the year 1821. A new school-room was then erected by subscription among the members of the chapel; and a gallery was at the same time put up to provide accommodation for the Sunday scholars, which added much to the appearance of the chapel. This was at that time the first rural Sunday-school in the neighbourhood, and the Sunday scholars numbered at this period about 100. Since that time, many similar schools have sprung up.

‡ Son and grandson to the two gentlemen, respectively, whose diaries have been quoted.

ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE chief difficulties in the chronology are before the death of Solomon. After that time, the reigns of the kings of Judah and kings of Israel are both given by the historian, and we soon come to the reign of Hezekiah, when we have a recorded Babylonian eclipse, in C. Ptolemy's Astronomy, to fix the time. Other Babylonian eclipses follow to fix the date of the Captivity.

Thus the chronology may be divided into three parts. The first is before the beginning of history, properly so called, before the time of Abraham, and is measured by the generations, or by adding together the ages of the patriarchs at the birth of their children. The second is from Abraham to Solomon, and is measured partly by the generations and partly by the historians giving an opinion about the time between distant events. The third is from Solomon to the Captivity, and is measured by the kings' reigns.

The years between the Creation and the Migration of Abraham, in Genesis, chap. x. xi. and xii., are 2021; or 1556 between the Creation and the Flood, and 465 between the Flood and the Migration. But the Greek translators of the Bible living in Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, having the buildings and sculptures and writings of Egypt before their eyes, and knowing its high state of civilization when Abraham came there, seem to have thought more years were required to explain the world's progress in arts and sciences. Accordingly they added 586 years before the Flood and 880 after, by making the patriarchs, for the most part, 100 years older when their children were born. The two schemes may be thus compared:

	<i>In the Hebrew.</i>	<i>In the Greek.</i>	<i>Difference.</i>
The genealogies in chap v.....	1556 years	2142	586
The genealogies in chap. xi. and in chap. xii. to Abraham's migration .	465	1345	880
Totals	2021	3487	1466

Here we are tempted to make two conjectures; first, that in the Hebrew figures there is an error of twenty years, and that the writer meant to say that the world was 2000 years old when the promises were given to Abraham on his migration. Secondly, that in the Greek figures there is a mistake of six years in Lamech's age, and that the translators meant to add an exact Egyptian cycle of 1460 years to the world's age as given in the Hebrew Bible.

The years between Abraham's migration out of Chaldæa and Solomon's death, are thus given in the Hebrew and in the Greek:

	<i>In the Hebrew.</i>	<i>In the Greek.</i>
Abraham older at Isaac's birth than at the migration	Gen. xxi. 5 .. 25 years	
Isaac's age at Jacob's birth	xxv. 20 .. 40	
Jacob's age on entering Egypt	xlvi. 9 .. 130	
Time in Egypt in the Hebrew, or since migration in the Greek.....	Exod. xii. 40 .. 430	.. 430
From Exodus to Solomon's 4th year	1 Kings vi. 1 .. 480	.. 440
To Solomon's death	xi. 42 .. 36	.. 36
Totals	1141	906

The period of 516 in the Hebrew, from the Exodus to Solomon's

death, the writer of the Book of Kings probably calculated for himself out of the very books which we now possess, and in nearly the following way :

From the Exodus		
To the espying of the land	Numb. x. 11 ..	2 years.
To Caleb's conversation with Joshua	Josh. xiv. 7 ..	45
To Joshua's death ..	assumed ..	10
Servitude under Mesopotamia	Judg. iii. 8 ..	8
Othniel ruled	iii. 11 ..	40
Servitude under Moab	iii. 14 ..	18
The land had rest	iii. 30 ..	80
During this long time Ehud judged	iv. 1 ..	
Servitude under Canaan	iv. 3 ..	20
Rest under Deborah	v. 31 ..	40
Servitude under Midian	vi. 1 ..	7
Gideon ruled	viii. 28 ..	40
Abimelech reigned	ix. 22 ..	3
Toba judged	x. 2 ..	23
Jair judged (5th in descent from Jacob)	x. 3 ..	22
Servitude under the Philistines and others	x. 8 ..	18
Jephthah judged (5th in descent from Jacob)	xii. 7 ..	6
Ibzan judged	xii. 9 ..	7
Elon judged	xii. 11 ..	10
Abdon judged	xii. 14 ..	8
Servitude under the Philistines (Samson and Eli)	xiii. 1 ..	40
Samuel judged and Saul reigned.....	assumed ..	40
David reigned	1 Kings ii. 11 ..	40
Solomon reigned (12th in descent from Jacob) ..	xi. 42 ..	40

These figures, if added together, give a total of 567 years. But it is clear that many of the periods are embraced within others, and some of a very improbable length. Accordingly in the Hebrew of the first Book of Kings (ch. vi. 1 and xi. 42) it is treated as 516 years, and in the Greek as forty years less, or 476 years. Other early Jewish authorities must have taken this period as much longer, for Paul, in Acts xiii. 18—20, says, that after the Exodus the Israelites were forty years in the desert, and about 450 years under Judges till the time of Samuel. This makes the time between the Exodus and Solomon's death about 610 years.

But to return to the chronology of the Hebrew Bible. The time of Solomon's death is pretty certainly known as B.C. 975. Measuring along the reigns of his successors, it is 275 years before the eclipse in the reign of Hezekiah, which is recorded by Ptolemy as in the first year of the reign of Mardock Empadus. Thus we form from the quotations above the following table of the chronology of our Hebrew Bible :

From the Creation	B.C. 4137
1556 years to the Flood	2581
465 years to Abraham's migration	2116
195 years to Jacob's arrival in Egypt	1921
430 years to the Exodus.....	1491
516 years to Solomon's death	975

If the inquirer now wishes to form for himself on critical grounds a scheme of chronology founded on these materials, he will probably think the Alexandrian critics hardly bold enough in their departure from the Hebrew, though he cannot but blame them for altering the text of the Bible. He will think with them that the civilization of the world in the time of Abraham can hardly have been the growth of the

short period of 2000 years. At that time Egypt enjoyed the advantages of laws, of civil government, of hereditary monarchy, of military discipline, of a learned priesthood, of writing by means of hieroglyphics, of agriculture, of sculpture, and of architecture. But he will hardly think with the Alexandrians that the difficulty is removed by adding the short period of 1460 years to the world's age. We can form no opinion of the length of time needed to produce such wonderful results. And if man was endowed with this knowledge at his creation, the 1460 years would not be needed.

For the times between Abraham and Solomon, which are of uncertain length, but within the province of history, we may take two rules for our guidance. 1st. That no part of an ancient writing is so little to be trusted as the figures, whether in the number of years or number of the population; and therefore, when the reigns or genealogies contradict the numbers of years, it will not be safe to rely on the numbers. 2nd. When two modes of reasoning lead to different results, it will be safer to take the shorter periods of time; as ancient historians have more often made the intervals of time, like the population of a country or the distance between towns, too large. Now if we suppose all Solomon's subjects, children of Israel as they called themselves, were really children of Jacob, the time we are speaking of would be far too short. A great nation could not have been born of one family in a thousand years. But if we rely upon the genealogies, which indeed agree with the reigns of the Judges, and remember that Moses was only fourth in descent from Jacob, and Solomon was only the twelfth in descent from Jacob, we must think that the Alexandrian critics did not do enough in shortening the time of the residence in Egypt, or the time between the Exodus and Solomon. In this case, we cannot allow much more than 100 years for the residence in Egypt, nor 300 years from the Exodus to Solomon. We shall have to conjecture that many other Chaldees migrated towards Egypt and Canaan besides Abraham, that there were many followers of Moses who were not children of Jacob, that many fought under Joshua who had not followed Moses through the desert, and that many more shared in the division of the lands taken from the Canaanites who had not crossed the Jordan with Joshua. The events, indeed, in the history from the Exodus to Solomon's death, can hardly occupy more than three centuries, if we observe that the times mentioned are mostly in round numbers of forty years each, which we are at liberty to consider indefinite, and only to mean several years.

The following table shews the more probable dates of these events, as fixed by the genealogies and by the reigns of the Judges that ruled over Ephraim and Manasseh. No notice is taken of the events belonging to the other parts of the country.

B. C. 1400	Judah born	
	Pharez born	Residence in Egypt.
	Esrom born	
1300	Aram born	Exodus under Moses.
		Wandering in the Desert.
	Aminadab born ..	Joshua's invasion of Canaan.
		Amalakite and Midianite rule.
1200	Naasson born	Gideon judges.
		Abimelech judges.

	Salmon born.....	Tola judges.
		Jair judges.
	Booz born.....	Ammonite invasion.
		Jephthah; Ibzon.
1100	Obed born	Elon; Abdon.
	Jesse born.....	Samuel judges.
	David born	Saul reigns.
	Solomon born ...	David reigns.
		Solomon reigns.
975		Solomon's death.

After Solomon's reign the difficulties in the chronology become less. The following table is formed by taking the length of the kings' reigns out of the Book of Kings and the Book of Chronicles, and calculating backwards from the eclipse recorded at Babylon in the reign of Cambyzes, the son of Cyrus.

<i>Kings of Judah.</i>	<i>B.C.</i>	<i>Kings of Israel.</i>
Rehoboam	975	.... Jeroboam.
Abijam	958	
Asa	955	
	954	.... Nadab.
	952	.... Baasha.
	930	.... Elah.
	929	.... Omri.
	918	.... Ahab.
Jehoshaphat.....	914	
	897	... Ahaziah.
	896	.... Jehoram.
Jehoram	891	
Ahaziah	884	
Athaliah	884	.... Jehu.
Joash.....	877	
	856	.... Jehoahaz.
	840	.... Joash.
Amaziah	838	
	825	.... Jeroboam II.
Uzziah	811	
	773	.... Zachariah.
	773	.... Shallum.
	773	.... Menahem.
	761	.... Pekahiah.
Jotham	759	.... Pekah.
Ahaz	743	
	731	.... Hosea.
Hezekiah	728	
	722	.... Conquest by Assyria.
Manasseh	699	
Amon	644	
Josiah	642	
Jehoahaz	611	
Jehoiakim	611	
Jehoiachin	600	
Conquest by Babylon	600	
Zedekiah	600	
End of the Monarchy	588	
Cyrus grants permission to the Jews to return home ...	536	
Ezra sent to Jerusalem by Xerxes	478	
Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem	432	
The Romans conquer Jerusalem 473 years after Cyrus's decree.....	63	

SAMUEL SHARPE.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Household of Sir Thomas More. Libellus a Margareta More, quindecim annos nata, Chelseiz inceptus. London—Hall, Virtue and Co.

THIS volume, equally tasteful and beautiful to the eye and the mind, is, we suppose, another production of the authoress of Lady Willoughby's Diary. In the composition of that work, abounding as it did in tokens of poetical feeling and ethical power, there were some indications of deficient antiquarian lore. The subject lay out of the ordinary track of historians, and the writer had not chanced to fall in with some of the few scattered notices of the subject of her supposititious work. In her "Mary Powell," while its ingenuity and beauty were confessed, we could not agree with the writer's estimate of the Powells in their relation to the great poet. The selection of a subject for her powers in the domestic life of our exalted countryman, Sir Thomas More, is happy. There are unusually abundant materials, enabling our artist to paint a very exquisite domestic "interior," and still to keep within the range of known facts. With much skill the work is represented as that of More's eldest daughter, Margaret, who became the wife of William Roper, and who, according to an old biographer of her father, "prickt nearest her father in wit, learning and virtue, as also in merry and pleasant talk, and in feature of body."

Of the intimacy between Sir Thomas More and Erasmus, large and not unskilful use is made :

"This morn I had risen before Dawn, being minded to meditate on sundrie Matters before Bess was up and doing, She being given to much Talk during her dressing, and made my way to the Pavilion, where, methought, I should be quiet enow ; but beholde ! Father and Erasmus were there before me, in fluent and earnest discourse. I would have withdrawne, but Father, without interrupting his sentence, puts his arm rounde me and draweth me to him ; soe there I sit, my head on 's shoulder, and mine eyes on Erasmus his Face. From much they spake, and othermuch I guessed, they had beene conversing on the present state of the Church, and how much it needed Renovation. Erasmus sayd, the Vices of the Clergy and Ignorance of the Vulgar had now come to a poynt, at the which, a Remedie must be founde, or the whole Fabric would falle to pieces. Sayd, the Revival of Learning seemed appoynted by Heaven for some great purpose, 'twas difficulte to say how greate. Spake of the new Art of Printing, and its possible Consequents. Of the active and fertile Minds at present turning up new Ground and ferreting out old Abuses. Of the Abuse of Monachism, and of the evil Lives of Conventualls. In special, of the Fanaticism and Hypocrisy of the Dominicans. Considered the Evills of the Times such that Societie must shortlie, by a vigorous Effort, shake 'em off. Wondered at the Patience of the Laitie for so many Generations, but thoughte 'em now waking from their Sleepe. The people had of late begunne to know theire physickall Power, and to chafe at the Weighte of their Yoke. Thoughte the Doctrine of Indulgences altogether bad and false.

"Father sayd, that the graduallie increast Severitie of Church Discipline concerning minor Offences had become such as to render Indulgences the needfull Remedie for Burthens too heavie to be borne. Condemned a Draconic Code, that visited even Sins of Discipline with the extream Penaltie. Quoted how ill such excessive Severitie answered in our owne Lande, with regard to the Civill Law ; twenty Thieves oft hanging together on the same Gibbet, yet Robberie noe whit abated."—Pp. 28—31.

It is not surprising that our authoress has been fascinated with the character of Sir Thomas More, of whom it has been well said, "that there is less to disturb the feeling of settled admiration, than in the character of perhaps any man who has been deeply engaged, as he was, in the great affairs of society in dubious times." The "Household of Sir Thomas More," however, we may remark, would have been a more faithful picture of the age, if the shades had

been thrown in amongst the prevailing light. More has been often represented as not only intolerant, but, from the force of his convictions as a Catholic, an active persecutor. A recent and very intelligent historical writer* has observed, that More's bigotry was excessive, and "is perhaps the most remarkable instance of the prostration of great faculties by superstition." It would have been a task not unworthy of a skilful metaphysician, to have represented suitably More returning from his public duties, with the words of Bainham uttered in the midst of the flames, "The Lord forgive Sir Thomas More!" ringing in his ears, and to represent the feelings with which he entered with words of kindness and looks of love into the midst of his cheerful and accomplished family circle. But from these matters we turn to more household topics, in which our authoress greatly shines:

"Grievous work, overnichte, with the churning. Nought would persuade Gillian but that the Creame was bewitched by Gammer Gurney, who was dissatisfied last Friday with her Dole, and hobbled away mumping and cursing. At alle Events, the Butter would not come; but Mother was resolute not to have so much Creame wasted; soe sent for Bess and me, Daisy and Mercy Giggs; and insisted on our churning in turn till the Butter came, if we satte up alle Night for't. 'Twas a hard saying; and might have hampered her like as Jephtha his rash Vow: Howbeit, soe soone as she had left us, we turned it into a frolick, and sang *Chevy Chase* from end to end, to beguile time; ne'ertheless the Butter would not come; soe then we grew sober, and at the instance of sweete Mercy, chaunted the 119th Psalme; and by the time we had attained to '*Lucerna Pedibus*,' I heard the Buttermilk separating and splashing and righte earneste. 'Twas near Midnight, however; and Daisy had fallen asleep on the Dresser. Gillian will ne'er be convinced but that our Latin broke the spell."—Pp. 41, 42.

We quote a brief theological meditation of Margaret Roper, which smacks not much of the 16th century, but is very beautiful:

"... Last Night, after seeking unto this Saint and that, methought, 'Why not applie unto the Fountain Head? Maybe these holie Spiritts may have Limitations sett to the Power of theire Intercessions—at anie Rate the Ears of Mary-Mother are open to alle.' Soe I beganne, '*Eia mater, fons amoris*.' Then methoughte, But I am only asking *her* to intercede—I'll mount a Step higher still. Then I turned to the great Intercessor of alle. But methought, Still he intercedes with another, although the same. And his owne saying was, 'In that day ye shall ask *me nothing*. Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, *he* will give it you.' Soe I did."—Pp. 151, 152.

In the age of Sir Thomas More, a Fool was a necessary appendage of every great house. This motley functionary was required to have wit under the guise of simplicity, and knowledge under that of folly. Many anecdotes concur to shew that the Fools were sometimes shrewd observers of passing theological controversies. How much wit and wisdom was there in the speech of the Court Fool to Henry VIII., when the Pope gave him the title of Defender of the Faith for his writings against Luther—"Oh, good Harry! let thou and I defend one another, and let the Faith alone to defend itself!"

The Fool in the "Household of Sir Thomas More" plays no unimportant part:

"Patteson, with one of Argus's cast feathers in his hand, is at this moment beneath my lattice, astride on a Stone Ballustrade; while Bessy, whom he much affects, is sitting on the steps, feeding her Peacocks. Sayth Patteson, 'Canst

* "England and France under the House of Lancaster," Notes and Illustrations, p. 36. An energetic defence of More, which ably states everything that can be said on that side of the question, may be found in Mr. Forster's *Life of Sir Thomas More—Eminent British Statesmen*, I. 55. The conduct of Sir Thos. More to his son-in-law, Roper, when he fell from the Catholic Church, and his recognition of a wide toleration in his *Utopia*, are, together with the declarations of his innocence of the cruelties and persecutions alleged against him, very weighty arguments.

tell me, Mistress, why Peacocks have so manie Eyes in their Tails, and yet can only see with two in their Heads?' 'Because those two make them soe vain alreadie, Fool,' says Bess, 'that were they always beholding their owne Glory, they would be intolerable.' 'And besides that,' says Patteson, 'the lesse we see or heare, either of what passes behind our Backs, the better for us, since knaves will make Mouths at us then, for as glorious as we may be. Canst tell me, Mistress, why the Peacock was the last Bird that went into the Ark?' 'First tell me, Fool,' returns Bess, 'how thou knowest that it was soe?' 'Nay, a Fool may ask a Question would puzzle a Wiseard to answer,' rejoins Patteson. 'I might ask you, for example, where they got their fresh Kitchen stuff in the Ark, or whether the Birds ate other than Grains, or the wild beasts other than flesh? It needs must have been a Granary.' 'We ne'er shew ourselves such Fools,' says Bess, 'as in seeking to know more than is written. They had enough, if none to spare, and we scarce can tell how little is enough for bare sustenance in a state of perfect inaction. If the creatures were kept low, they were all the less fierce.'"

We notice here and there slight *incuriæ*. The Fool's talk with Bessy about the Heron would have been better directed to Cicely, Sir Thomas's third daughter, who married, not *John*, but Giles Herron, of Shacklewell.

The Charities of London, comprehending the Benevolent, Educational and Religious Institutions, their Origin and Design, Progress and Present Position. By Sampson Low, Jun. Pp. 474. London—Sampson Low.

THE list and description of the charities of London contained in this well-compiled volume are calculated to excite various, but on the whole cheering, reflections. Here and there the eye lights on some charitable institution of doubtful good, and sometimes, but less frequently, on one tending to increase and perpetuate the evil which it professes to relieve. But a large proportion of the London charities are as well conceived as liberally executed. Mr. Sampson Low has given us the particulars of not less than 491 charitable institutions, distributing a yearly income of nearly two millions; the exact amount being from subscriptions £1,022,864, and from funded property £741,869. Of the 491 institutions, three-fifths (294) appear to be the growth of the present half century, 109 were founded in the 18th century, and the remaining 88 were established in the 17th century. The bulk of the oldest charities were in behalf of the aged, while latterly charity has flowed chiefly in medical, educational and religious channels. That there are omissions in this work we do not doubt; we may specify two or three,—the various charities distributed by the Trustees of Dr. Daniel Williams, the Presbyterian Fund, the Holt Trust and the Hackney Educational Fund. Mr. Low, before he publishes another edition of his useful book, should put himself in communication with some one acquainted with the affairs of the London Presbyterians.

Religion—its Root in Human Nature and its Manifestation in Scripture. A Discourse delivered in Cross-Street Chapel, Manchester, Feb. 6, 1851, and at Gloucester, October 22, 1851, on occasion of the Annual Meeting of the Western Unitarian Society. By John James Tayler, B.A. Pp. 27. London—Chapman.

If we may judge from his published discourses, Mr. Tayler's pulpit utterances increase in power, earnestness and spirituality. The sermon before us consists of a train of beautiful thoughts, felicitously expressed, and adorned with the learning of the scholar. We reserve to ourselves the right to differ from Mr. Tayler's view of spiritual intuitions. We do not think his theory at all necessary to account for the high spiritual attainments of the class of men whom he eloquently describes as the world's prophets. The peculiar and earnest devotion of their faculties to the contemplation of religious and spiritual

truths, is rewarded with a proportionate cultivation and aptitude of spiritual discernment. Why is it necessary to imagine, in the domain of religion, a different principle at work from that which inspires and secures his reward to the poet, the scholar and the man of science? Never have we read a more eloquent or successful plea for the religiousness of virtuous heathens than that of Mr. Tayler, pp. 8—11. Very admirable, and in a tone of conservatism, which, coming from this quarter, we doubly welcome, are Mr. Tayler's concluding remarks on the mutual adaptation of Human Nature and Scripture. We are glad to see that this portion of the sermon is printed off as a cheap popular tract.

One extract is all we can find room for :

"My belief is, that in all classes many minds are now awakening to an earnest and serious sense of religion, which have been thought indifferent to it, because in none of the various forms under which it is ordinarily presented, their understandings and hearts have been able to find satisfaction and peace,—because they have recoiled from views which teach them to look on their own nature with abhorrence, and bid them read the Bible, as no other book is read, with a closed intellect and stifled feeling, with a prohibition to see facts as they are stated, and to interpret them by the principles of humanity and common sense. To all such I would say,—respect your own nature ; see in it the hallowed and mysterious medium through which alone God has vouchsafed to communicate directly with this lower world ; call out and cultivate its diviner properties,—its love, its reverence, its trust, its aspiration, its sympathy with all things good and holy and beautiful ; do not extinguish them in the grossness of carnality, in the chilly damp of selfishness, in the heavy and dark oppression of bigotry. And if you want nutriment for these diviner affections of the soul, seek it in the Scriptures. One privilege at least I have gained from the freedom with which I may be thought to have spoken of the Scriptures, that I shall not be suspected of prejudice and groundless partiality, in giving utterance to those sentiments of profound and reverential admiration with which they habitually inspire me. I say again, therefore, do you want nutriment for all the highest elements of your being—seek it in the Scriptures. If you delight in a history that goes back to the very cradle of our race, presenting in vivid succession pictures of patriarchal simplicity and heroic achievement, of pastoral and agricultural wealth and peace and of political vicissitude,—rich in the liveliest and most picturesque touches of antique feeling and manners, delightful for the childlike *naïveté* and ingenuousness of its style, with a deep undertone of religious seriousness pervading the whole, and tracing up all the changes in human affairs to the eternal order of Providence—seek it in the Scriptures. If you desire the counsels of a wisdom profoundly meditative and solemnly devout on the highest questions of man's condition and destiny—seek it in the Scriptures."—Pp. 24, 25.

History of France. By Leitch Ritchie. Edinburgh—Chambers. 1849.

THIS is one of the charming shilling Histories which the Messrs. Chambers have published for the benefit of young readers. We neglected noticing it at the time of its publication three years ago. We are now struck with the prophetic wisdom of its closing sentence :

"One thing is clear ; that a limited monarchy, if administered with honesty and intelligence, is the best school for a people such as I have described. In the mean time, we leave this gallant and generous nation brimful of the science and refinement of the nineteenth century, yet politically unfit for a Republic, and therefore in imminent danger of a despotism."—P. 187.

Old Eighteen-Fifty-One ; a Tale for any Day in 1852. By the Author of Pleasant Pages. Pp. 114. Houlston and Stoneman.

No year in this century better deserved a Year Book than 1851. The work before us is executed with spirit, and may be safely added to the children's library.

INTELLIGENCE.

Manchester Sunday-School Association.

This useful Society held its seventh annual meeting on Good Friday, at Dukinfield. The day was fine, and the assemblage of teachers and friends from various parts of the counties of Lancaster and Chester was large. Amongst those assembled in the course of the day were James Heywood, Esq., M.P., R. N. Philips, Esq., Professor Bowman, Revds. Dr. Beard, Charles Wallace, John Wright, Charles Beard, John Owen, F. Baker, F. Bishop, J. Layhe, G. Hoade, F. Howorth, R. B. Aspland, and teachers from Macclesfield, Manchester, Oldham, Gee Cross, Mottram, Mossley, Stockport, Padiham, Newchurch, Monton, Stand, Warrington, Flowery Field, Liverpool, and several other places. The religious services were introduced by Rev. R. B. Aspland, and an appropriate sermon preached by Rev. F. Bishop, from 1 Kings xx. 11, "Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off." The plain psalmody very properly selected on this occasion, rolled through the chapel at Dukinfield, sustained by five hundred voices, with excellent effect. The greater part of the visitors proceeded at the close of the service to the school-buildings, which were greatly admired for their spacious accommodation and the judicious subdivision of rooms. In the large upper room, which occupies the whole extent of the building, a plain dinner was set out. The social meal gave opportunity to friends and teachers, who meet only at these annual gatherings, to hold pleasant and profitable intercourse. The comfort of the guests was very hospitably attended to by the superintendents and teachers of the Dukinfield school. A little after two o'clock, a procession of carriages was formed on the hill, to convey Mr. Heywood and others to Mossley, where the interesting ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the chapel and school was fixed to take place. The chief part of the visitors re-assembled in the chapel at Dukinfield, under the presidency of Professor Bowman, who introduced the business of the afternoon with some judicious remarks on the objects, advantages and difficulties of Sunday-school instruction. As his remarks, and those of the other speakers, have been already reported in the pages

of the *Inquirer*, we shall confine our narrative of the afternoon meeting to the report, prepared by the indefatigable Secretary of the Association.

Rev. John Wright began by reading a tabulated return of the number of teachers and scholars, both male and female, in the schools in connection with the Association, for the past and the preceding year, and the average attendance of both. The schools named were,

	<i>Teachers.</i>	<i>Scholars.</i>
Ainsworth	26	178
Altringham	7	45
Bolton	38	236
Bury	35	320
Chowbent	36	217
Congleton	2	18
Croft	5	13
Dean Row	6	44
Dob Lane	31	108
Dukinfield	70	497
Astley Street..	25	92
Flowery Field.....	85	390
Gee Cross	21	207
Hale	8	40
Knutsford	7	25
Macclesfield.....	31	198
Manchester, Lower Mos-		
ley Street..	79	589
Strangeways .	32	305
Miles Platting	39	274
Monton.....	37	129
Mossley	54	753
Mottram	69	327
Nantwich	10	35
Newchurch	30	199
Newton	4	30
Oldham	20	150
Padiham	54	212
Park Lane	8	104
Rawtenstall	14	104
Rivington	6	21
Rochdale, Clover Street .	35	119
Stand	20	160
Stockport	20	206
Styal	14	110
Swinton	18	85
Todmorden	19	110
Walmsley		
Warrington	18	151
Wheatley Lane	19	66

From the returns it appeared that at the last annual meeting the Association consisted of 36 schools, containing 6021 scholars and 987 teachers. One of these, containing 22 teachers and 49 scholars, has been discontinued; but 4 new schools, containing 66 teachers and

806 scholars, have joined the Association, which now consists of 39 schools, numbering 1052 teachers and 6874 scholars. The 35 schools which sent reports both in 1851 and 1852, contained in the former year 965 teachers, and in the latter 986 teachers; in 1851, they had 5972 scholars, and in 1852, 6068. Of the above-mentioned 35 schools, 16 have increased in the number of scholars, 1 is just the same, and 18 have decreased; 13 have more teachers, 9 the same number, and 13 fewer teachers; 8 have increased in both scholars and teachers, viz. Dob Lane, Flowery Field, Gee Cross, Macclesfield, Monton, Oldham, Swinton and Todmorden; 3 have more scholars and the same number of teachers, viz. Bolton, Dukinfield and Strangeways; 5 have more scholars and fewer teachers, viz. Altringham, Chowbent, Park Lane, Rawtenstall and Styal; Rivington remains the same in both respects; 8 have fewer teachers and fewer scholars, viz. Ainsworth, Bury, Croft, Hale, Knutsford, Newton, Padiham and Warrington, but Hale has at the same time a larger average attendance of scholars, and Warrington a larger average attendance of teachers; 5 have fewer scholars but more teachers, viz. Dean Row, Lower Mosley Street, Miles Platting, Mottram and Newchurch; Mottram has, however, a larger average attendance of scholars, and 5 with fewer scholars have the same number of teachers, viz. Astley Street, Rochdale, Stand, Stockport and Wheatley Lane. In almost all cases the decrease is very small. The only instances in which the schools appear to be decidedly declining are Croft and Newton, in both arising from local circumstances which appear to make it almost inevitable. Twenty-two schools, containing 3706 scholars, are in Lancashire; 17 schools, containing 3168 scholars, are in Cheshire.

The report proceeded to state that the two objects prominently brought before the notice of the Committee were, 1, a better system of visiting the schools; 2, the publication of certain books.

1. *Visiting.*—The necessity was strongly felt of securing the services of a Visitor who should devote all his Sundays to the work. To obtain this, a small salary was attached to the office in addition to the payment of travelling expenses. Mr. Curtis, the Treasurer, was earnestly requested to undertake it, but was unable to leave his duties at Mosley Street. Mr. Freestone has

since been appointed, and has accepted the office, and will immediately enter on its duties. In the course of a year he will pay at least one visit to every school connected with the Association, unless the visits be declined. Applications are invited, and a statement of the time when it will be convenient to the teachers to receive the Visitor. Mr. Freestone's object in these visits will be to give and obtain information, to make acquaintance with the teachers in the various localities, and strengthen the bond of union between the different schools; to learn and convey to the Committee the wants and feelings of those whom he meets in connection with the objects and purposes of the Association. This appointment is not intended to supersede the old system of occasional visits by the officers, but to be in addition to it. On this plan, twenty-seven visits have been paid during the year, viz., to Dukinfield, Higher Dukinfield, Astley Street, Rochdale and Macclesfield, by Mr. Curtis; to New Church, Rawtenstall, Oldham, Todmorden, Macclesfield and Bury, by Mr. Steinthall; to Padiham, Styal, Astley Street, Hurst Brook, Mossley, New Church, Bolton and Padiham a second time, by Mr. Madge; to Miles Platting, Dukinfield, Macclesfield and Bury, by Mr. Freestone; to Warrington and New Church, by Mr. Hibbert; to Dukinfield, Gee Cross and Altringham, by the Secretary. Full reports of these visits are preserved in the Visitors' book. The visitors have always had a friendly reception, and have reason to believe that in many instances good has been the result.

2. *Publishing.*—The question has been pressed upon the attention of the Committee during the last year, and to some extent upon that of the Unitarian public, how far it is desirable for a *district* Society to publish at all, and whether it would not be better to encourage the universal use of the books issued by the Sunday-School Association. The view taken by the Committee on the subject is simply this: perceiving the necessity of a large sale to give to books intended for Sunday-schools the necessary cheapness, they wish to use, recommend and circulate the publications of the above-named Society whenever (as is generally the case) they appear to answer their intended purpose to the satisfaction of teachers; but when they see a want unsupplied, they prefer to point it out to their friends in London, and, if pos-

sible, to see it supplied by them. But if there is a want felt by the Northern schools, which the Committee in London either do not appreciate or are disinclined to meet, then the Committee will take steps to remedy it. On these grounds deliberations were held respecting the publication of a Sunday-school Hymn-book at a cheap rate and of a kind to satisfy the wants of the district. But the appearance at the beginning of the year of a new edition of Hymns for the Christian Church and Home, compelled the Committee to pause, not that they considered this the exact thing wanted for a *Sunday-school Hymn-book*, but they feared that, from its cheapness and the convenience of using the same book in a school and chapel, it might anticipate the market. The Committee have not, however, abandoned the project of a Hymn-book, but are waiting to see what prospect of a sale there may still be before they take further steps. No progress has been made in the publication of a book of systematic religious instruction. The Committee have had one such work under consideration, but have been obliged to conclude that, however valuable in itself, it was not fitted for their purpose. A large edition of the Prayers by Travers Madge has been printed, and already upwards of 3000 have been sold.—The Sunday-School Penny Magazine continues to be successful. The average sale is now 7500, being an increase of 1000 since last year. Co-operation with other Sunday-School Associations has been promoted as far as possible. Mr. Steinthall was deputed to attend the Whitsuntide anniversary in London as a delegate from the Society, and was cordially received. Latterly a friendly correspondence has taken place with Rev. J. M'Alester, the Secretary of the Northern Sunday-School Association in Ireland.

The Committee record the pleasure with which they have heard of meetings of *parents* in several of the schools, and recommend the plan to general imitation.

The report concluded with a statement that an increase of income was necessary to the successful operation of the Society. Some subscriptions had been sent in, but more were needed. The Committee did not ask for a subscription from each school as a condition of membership, but they would gladly receive it from the schools which could afford to contribute. The objects

of the Association are important, its organization simple, self-governing and effectual: its usefulness had been tested by a six years' experience. The Committee, therefore, urgently and confidently appealed to the friends of Sunday-school instruction for immediate pecuniary aid.

The Secretary also read a list of the institutions connected with the several schools. These consisted of a library, mutual improvement and other classes in the week evenings, clothing societies, sick and burial clubs, music classes, temperance societies, monthly and quarterly teachers' meetings, adult classes for males and females in separate rooms, sewing and elocution classes, school gardens, savings' fund, composition class, &c., &c.

Mr. Curtis, the Treasurer, presented the accounts, from which it appeared that the income of the Society had amounted during the past year (including a balance of £14. 6s. 5d.) to £53. 12s. 4d., the whole of which had been expended, and a balance was due to the printer of £3. 10s. 11d. The amount of subscriptions from schools was £11. 16s.; from private individuals, £15. 3s.

The usual resolutions were moved, and short addresses were given by Messrs. Steinthall, Curtis, Whittaker and Philips, and Revds. F. Bishop, F. Baker, F. Howorth and R. B. Aspland. At four o'clock the whole party re-assembled in the school buildings. Not only in the large room, but in another room below, tea was prepared. The large room, filled in every part, presented a very animated and pleasing sight. The whole interior of the building was newly painted and decorated for the occasion. Over the Chairman's dais, on which was a tea-table for some of the principal guests, a beautiful silken banner was hung, on one side of which were painted the little children receiving Christ's blessing, with a suitable scripture motto. About 500 persons partook of tea, and the number was afterwards increased by the return of friends from the ceremony at Mossley. At the close of the meal, a hymn of thanksgiving was sung, and the more important proceedings of the evening were commenced by a suitable, earnest and very kind address from the Chairman, Robert Needham Philips, Esq., of the Park. Subsequently, addresses, both prepared and extempore, were given by Mr. Steinthall, Mr. Curtis, Mr. Glossop, and Mr. Wrigley, of Mossley. The subjects discussed were,

we believe, previously defined by the Committee. Mr. Steintall read an essay on the means of sustaining the religious character of our schools. Mr. Glossop, on the advantages of a system of visitation in the schools. Mr. Curtis addressed the meeting on the most approved methods of communicating instruction; and Mr. Wrigley read the principal part of a very judicious essay on the necessity of Sunday-school instruction being systematic, carefully prepared and skilfully imparted.

We regret that we have not space for an analysis of all these excellent addresses, and the remarks by which they were subsequently enforced by the ministers present. A brief analysis of the first will give our readers a favourable idea of the tone and general character of all. Mr. Steintall began by assuming as a fact that the object of Sunday-schools was to impart religious instruction. He regretted the unnecessary burthen thrown on Sunday-schools, by the want of a system of national education, of teaching many children the first elements of knowledge. He divided the influences of the Sunday-school into two heads—the direct and the indirect. The former includes the influence exercised by the teacher in his class, the matter he delivers, and in the manner in which he delivers it; the latter, the influence which the teacher exercises out of the school by his general conduct and character. In dwelling on the direct influences of the teacher, he recommended systematic preparation on the part of the teacher for every lesson. He warned them against the delusion that their intellectual superiority precluded the necessity of special preparation for the work of teaching. He recommended every teacher to enter on special religious subjects with his pupils, such as prayer, the fatherly character of God, &c. In discussing the indirect influence of the teacher, he dwelt earnestly on the force of example. The consistent religious example of a Sunday-school teacher would instruct more than his words; his words would be useless if not enforced by his life. None but a truly religious teacher can exercise a religious influence on his class. To promote the religious character amongst teachers, he recommended the formation of classes for mutual religious improvement, short prayer-meetings before the commencement of the school, habitual attendance on public worship, and especially attendance on the Lord's Supper.

The principal speakers were Rev. F. Howorth, Mr. Duckworth, Rev. Chas. Beard and Rev. R. B. Aspland. Soon after sunset the proceedings were necessarily brought to a close, many having long journeys before reaching their homes. Mr. Philips received from the intelligent and enthusiastic assembly a marked tribute of respect and gratitude for his services. A hymn was sung, and a few words of prayer and blessing, uttered by Rev. G. Hoade, of Oldham, appropriately closed this instructive and truly Christian festival. The open space before the chapel was for a few moments crowded with the departing guests, bidding for twelve months a friendly adieu to their associates of the day; and all, we hope, returned to their homes with minds enlightened, and with zeal renewed and strengthened.

Mossley.

Our readers are aware that for some time past the Christian Brethren of this village have been preparing to build a school-room and chapel. The land having been purchased and the contract for the building taken by Messrs. Robinson, the builders of the chapel at Gee Cross, and considerable progress having been made in the lower portion of the building, it was resolved to have a public ceremonial on the occasion of laying a corner-stone. The members of the society were unwilling to absent themselves from or in any way interfere with the meeting of the Sunday-School District Association, which held its anniversary in the neighbouring village of Dukinfield on Good Friday; but after considering the difficulty of finding another holiday suitable to their purpose, and receiving the assurance from the friends at Dukinfield that there was sufficient strength to insure the success of both meetings, they announced that the ceremony would take place on the afternoon of Good Friday. They were very fortunate in securing the services for the occasion of James Heywood, Esq., M. P., and it was deemed a good omen that the corner-stone of the new edifice was to be laid by a lineal descendant of the good Oliver Heywood, whose holy zeal and ardent piety led to the foundation of several Nonconformist places of worship on the hill-sides of Yorkshire at the close of the 17th century. The day was most auspicious for a service in the open air. The new building in progress is situated in a new

road, just cut, and which leads from the station of the railroad to the older portions of the village. It is on the hill-side. The building is to consist of two stories; the lower is designed for a school-room capable of receiving 800 scholars; the upper, designed for the chapel, is about on a level with the new road, from which it will be conveniently entered. The whole will be a substantial, well-finished stone building. The proceedings excited in anticipation very general interest in the district. Soon after one o'clock the congregation and the Sunday scholars, in neat attire and with healthy looks, which bespoke the general prosperity of the population, assembled in the old preaching and school room. Thence they proceeded to Mossley Cross, on the somewhat steep hill at the entrance to Mossley from Ashton. Here they were presently joined by a procession of carriages from Dukinfield. In the first were James Heywood, Esq., and Rev. Dr. Beard; then followed Rev. Charles Beard, of Gee Cross; Rev. John Owen, of Lydgate; Ivie Mackie, Esq., of Manchester, and a number of ladies. The procession marched to the ground to the music of the brass band of Mossley, and was joined in its course by nearly all the people of the village. A platform was erected at the building. In addition to the gentlemen already named, there were on or near the platform Mr. Alderman J. Shawcross, Mr. Edward Shawcross and Mr. Eckersley, of Manchester; Mr. Thomas Thornely and a party of friends from Godley; Mr. Orlando Oldham and friends from Gee Cross. Opposite to the platform the land rose in a gentle acclivity, affording the immense mass of people who were assembled (estimated at upwards of 3000 persons) the opportunity of seeing the ceremony and hearing the addresses of the speakers. A hymn, admirably sung, opened the proceedings. Rev. Charles Beard invoked in a solemn prayer the Divine blessing on the people and their work. Mr. Ivie Mackie then, on behalf of the Mossley congregation, presented to Mr. Heywood an elegant silver trowel, on which was engraved this inscription: "Presented to James Heywood, Esq., M. P., on the occasion of his laying the corner-stone of a Christian Chapel and Sunday-school at Mossley, April 9, 1852."

Mr. Heywood, after going through the usual forms on such occasions, proceeded to address the people. He commented on the great progress that had

been made in the enjoyment of religious liberty, and drew a contrast between the times of the Scotch Covenanters and our own favoured age. He likewise remarked upon the great commercial prosperity which the country had experienced for some time, and the general well-being of the great mass of the people, of which advantages he trusted that they would make a wise use. In conclusion, he expressed himself highly pleased with his visit, and said it would give him great pleasure to repeat it.—The Rev. Dr. Beard then stepped forward and delivered a very appropriate and forcible speech. He congratulated the Christian Brethren of Mossley on their exertions in commencing a building which should be dedicated to the principles of religious freedom. He trusted that whatever they did would be done from a love of truth, and not from a spirit of mere opposition, and that while they uncompromisingly maintained their right to think and speak for themselves on religious matters, they would not in the slightest degree deny that right to others. He also entered into a lengthened vindication of the Unitarian views with reference to Christ.—E. Shawcross, Esq., next briefly addressed the meeting, and in the course of his address made some excellent remarks upon Sunday-school education.—Mr. Richard Carling, of Bolton, then moved, and John Mayall, Esq., of Scout Lodge, seconded, a vote of thanks to James Heywood, Esq., and the other gentlemen who had taken part in the proceedings, which was carried unanimously. Mr. Heywood briefly returned thanks. The assembly again joined in singing; the Rev. J. Owen gave the benediction; and the proceedings terminated.

A large number of friends then adjourned to the school-room, where tea had been provided. Upwards of 600 persons sat down. The tables had been gratuitously furnished by a number of ladies. After tea, John Mayall, Esq., of Scout Lodge, was called upon to preside. After a few excellent remarks, he called upon Mr. Joe Lawton to read the report of the Building Committee. The report contained a detailed account of the labours of the Building Committee since their appointment a year ago. Subscriptions to the amount of £500 had been promised, and besides this, the church owned four shares in a Building Society at Manchester, which at its termination in about a year would realize £220, making altogether up-

wards of £700. The Committee hoped that by further efforts this sum would be raised to £800 in the immediate neighbourhood. No systematic canvas had yet taken place in other districts, but the Committee felt confident that when they commenced operations they would be liberally assisted. The report also alluded to the perplexing difficulties with which the Committee had to contend in procuring land. The total estimated cost of the erection was upwards of £1400. The meeting was subsequently addressed by James Heywood, Esq., M. P., Ivie Mackie, Esq., John Shawcross, Esq., Rev. Dr. Beard, Mr. James Robinson, Mr. Richard Carling and Mr. David Thomas, who were repeatedly and loudly cheered. In order to enliven the meeting, several appropriate songs and pieces were sung at intervals. After the usual votes of thanks to the Chairman, the ladies, &c., the meeting broke up at an early hour, much delighted with the day's proceedings.

Cheshire Presbyterian Association.

The twenty-fourth meeting of this Society was held on Easter Tuesday, April 13, at Chester, and was well attended by the ministers of the county. There were present Rev. Charles Wallace, Rev. G. V. Smith, Rev. James Malcolm, Rev. Charles Beard, Rev. John Wright, Rev. James Bayley, Rev. W. Fillingham, Rev. F. Hornblower, Rev. R. L. Carpenter and Rev. R. B. Aspland. Mr. Mortimer Maurice, formerly minister of Chester, was also present. The devotional service was conducted by Rev. James Bayley, and an admirable sermon was preached by Rev. R. L. Carpenter from Ephesians iv. 15: "But speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ." The preacher shewed the necessity of love for the attainment of truth, and for imparting it to others. What is not completely true has been propounded in a manner not completely loving, and has failed to produce the desired effect. Teachers of so-called religious truth have been too much addicted to anger and railing, and the same may be said of teachers of moral truth: such truths are incomplete, because they have not attuned the mind to love. It is peculiarly incumbent on the English Presbyterian body to bear this text in mind. We are not linked together by a creed, nor yet by internal discipline; and the

external discipline of persecution and the attraction of a common danger is ceasing; and the great principle of religious freedom is not calculated to unite us, except in those emergencies in which that freedom is assailed. Mental and spiritual activity is quickened by the excitement of the times, and there is an obvious tendency among us to boldness of utterance and strength of expression, which may suit the hardihood of immortal Truth, but which is not (taken by itself) favourable to that Love without which there cannot be union,—nor, indeed, to that perfect truth which can only be attained through unity. Never, since the introduction of Unitarianism into our body, has there been such a shock to hereditary opinion. Our old watchword,—the sufficiency of Scripture,—has been challenged. The external evidences of Christianity have been assailed. Old Unitarianism is disparaged. Our intellectual confidence has hid its head in the sand, and professed not to exist: the Understanding declares itself a usurper, and ushers in Feeling as the queen of the Soul: private judgment threatens to commit suicide. In moral matters, Bigotry and Intolerance, who seemed banished without recal from our body, request admission; they were discarded as the servants of Piety, but plead that they may help Humanity. We must, therefore, strengthen our fundamental principles of respect for the rights of conscience and of mutual toleration. The exigencies of the times demand that we should edify the body by *love*. Love and Truth must not stand apart. If we are impetuous advocates for Love, not waiting for the calm, sober processes of circumspect, many-sided Truth,—or equally impetuous for solitary Truth, not accepting the gentle restraints of mutual Love,—we shall become worse than the Ishmaelites of the desert (which we have been hitherto deemed)—our hand against every man, and every man's hand against us; for we shall not be united among ourselves, but incoherent as the sand of that desert. The growth of Love must keep pace with that of Truth and Freedom. A somewhat inert love would do to nurse an indolent truth; but the vigorous, restless, outspoken truth of these days demands an equally vigorous, active, demonstrative love. We must not be always dwelling on differences, but must cherish the affection that makes all distinctions void. To do this we

must grow up into him who is our Head in all things, even Christ, who came to bear witness to the *truth*, but the spirit of whose life was *love*.

At the business meeting which followed, the following Report was presented of the Tract Society:

"The Committee of the Cheshire Presbyterian Tract Society have little this year to report to the members. The number of tracts issued during 1851 has been 3135, being an increase of 487 upon the circulation of the preceding year. The income of the Society has, however, declined, the receipts being £67. 11s. 8d., against £75. 3s. 4d., the income of the preceding year. The expenditure has been £68. 15s. 6d., leaving a balance due to the Secretary of £8. 8s. 6d.

"The diminution of receipts may be traced to two causes,—the late issue of the Catalogue, and the absence from home, caused by the Exhibition, during so large a portion of the year, of many of the subscribers. From Macclesfield the returns have been nearly as large as on any former occasion, and from Nantwich a larger list of subscribers has been obtained than was ever before received from that town. The thanks of the Society are especially due to the Rev. John Wright and the Rev. Francis Hornblower for their successful exertions as Local Treasurers. From both places the books ordered were of an interesting character, shewing the prevalence of a searching spirit of theological inquiry, and also of a desire for practical and devotional books.

"The Committee congratulate the members of the Cheshire Presbyterian Association on the establishment in the county during the past year of another Unitarian congregation, that of Birkenhead. They desire thus publicly to express their welcome into the county of the Rev. Russell L. Carpenter, and their earnest hope that he may find at Birkenhead a wide field worthy of his talents and zeal, and may hereafter reap an abundant moral and spiritual harvest.

"The Committee will strive to give hereafter, as they have hitherto done, a varied and attractive character to their Annual Catalogue. They desire, however, respectfully to direct the attention of the subscribers to works of a religious character, especially those explanatory of Scripture, and vindicating the right of private judgment. For the sake of these chiefly the Society is carried on, at no small expense of time and labour to the officers of the Society. The works of amusement and of instruction blended with entertainment which form a portion

of the Catalogue and of the Society's stock are offered for the benefit of the young, and especially in the hope of alluring Sunday scholars and domestic servants into habits of innocent reading. When it is remembered what incentives are offered to persons of this class to read works of a more exciting and dangerous character, it cannot be considered an unimportant task to direct their attention to works of biography, history, or even fiction, in which morality is respected and virtuous and noble principles of action are held up to admiration.

"The number of subscribers amongst the humbler classes, and especially amongst domestic servants, might with a little trouble be immediately and considerably increased. If every member of the Society would look around him and consider whom he might induce to partake of the advantages of the Society, it would quickly become an institution not unworthy of the important congregations belonging to the Presbyterians and Unitarians in the county of Chester."

After the usual votes had been passed, Rev. John Wright called the attention of the meeting to a plan for increasing the usefulness of the Association. The object, he said, was the spread of the profession and practice of pure evangelical Christianity in the county of Chester. The *means* he recommended were, 1. Improvement of *existing* congregations. Many do not require assistance, a few small ones do. Let the ministers agree to visit these in turn. Let each minister in the county be requested at each annual meeting to report the state, progress, wants and prospects of his own congregation. 2. Establishment of *new* congregations. Beginning with two or three promising localities, let preaching plans be arranged, mingling the aid of ministers with that of local preachers. 3. Missionary effort. There are several districts in the county in which there seems an opening, and the ministers, by co-operation, may break up the ground and pave the way for future progress.—The *plan of action* which he suggested for consideration was, 1. To appoint a small sub-committee to make necessary arrangements. 2. To request the *wealthy* subscribers to the Tract Society throughout the county not to order books, but to allow the money they subscribe to be spent in tracts for distribution. 3. To request each minister to state in writing to this sub-committee whether he can give any occasional preaching help *near his home*

on a Sunday,—how many week evenings in each month he can engage to preach as a missionary, and how many village preachers he can promise from his congregation. 4. To co-operate in a friendly manner with the congregations of "Christian Brethren" wherever they exist.

A conversation ensued, in which Rev. C. Wallace stated, that a plan of missionary agency had been formerly contemplated, but, on consideration, abandoned; and that the employment of lay agency required discrimination and caution. Rev. R. Brook Aspland stated, that already several ministers in the county were, in fact, in their own districts, without formal organization, carrying into effect some of the recommendations of Mr. Wright. Ultimately the scheme was referred to the consideration of the Committee. The ministers and visitors then repaired to the houses of several members of the congregation, and were entertained with that hospitality for which Chester has long been celebrated.—Early in the afternoon a *réunion* took place in the school-room, where the ladies of the congregation presided at the tea tables. The chair was subsequently taken by Rev. James Malcolm, who offered, in several very earnest and impressive addresses, a series of sentiments, which were spoken to by Messrs. Wright, Carpenter, Beard, Aspland, Bayley and Hornblower. The speeches were interspersed with pieces of sacred music sung by the choir. It was after ten o'clock when the proceedings were closed by a prayer offered by Mr. Fillingham. In tendering the thanks of the ministers to Rev. James Malcolm and the Chester congregation, Rev. Charles Wallace congratulated them on the very successful and interesting character of the proceedings, and observed, that never, since the establishment of the Association, had the addresses been of a more earnest and improving kind than those to which they had then listened. By an unforeseen accident, we are deprived of the means of giving a more detailed report of the evening proceedings.

Southern Unitarian Fund Society.

The annual meeting of the Southern Unitarian Fund Society took place at Southampton on Good Friday, April 9, at the Unitarian chapel, Canal Walk. The devotional service was conducted by the Rev. Henry Hawkes, and an

eloquent and expressive discourse was delivered by the Rev. George Harris from Acts xxiv. 14—16, on the high importance of Religious Principle, and on the uses and abuses of Sectarianism. At the business meeting after service, the Rev. Hugh Hutton was called to the chair, when the Rev. E. Kell read the general report of the Society, which embraced those of the different congregations in the district. The report from Southampton, the principal scene of the Society's operations, was particularly interesting. It stated, that since the last annual meeting their present handsome and commodious chapel, formerly belonging to the Wesleyans, had been purchased, on his own responsibility, by the Rev. E. Kell, the cost being afterwards defrayed by the liberality of the Unitarian public. The congregation had been for the last nine months strengthened and consolidated by the very able services of the Rev. Hugh Hutton, and was now, by the addition of new subscribers and the increased subscriptions of old members, in a position of far greater security and promise. It noticed the present to the congregation of a handsome communion service by William Duckworth, Esq., and of an excellent organ by Admiral Gifford, of Jersey. A strong hope was expressed that the friends of the cause, both at Southampton and at a distance, would continue towards this interesting church the same measure of sympathy and generous aid by which it had been enabled to make its way under circumstances of considerable trial and opposition. The resolutions of the Society were afterwards advocated by various speakers in a spirit of much harmony and zeal, the whole congregation remaining during the proceedings. At the close, the Rev. Hugh Hutton announced the completion of an addition to the Supplement of Kippis's Hymn-book by the Rev. E. Kell, which had been greatly desired, and which, by itself or included in the new edition of the volume, might be purchased by congregations in numbers of 25 copies at a very reduced price, by direct application to the publishers. At five, the friends again assembled in the chapel for tea, which had been kindly furnished by the ladies of the congregation. Dr. Longstaff, of Wandsworth, presided, and introduced, with many appropriate remarks, the following sentiments:

"Welcome to our highly-esteemed friend, the Rev. George Harris, and

cordial thanks to him for his valuable services;"—responded to by Mr. Harris.

"Best wishes for the continued welfare of the Southampton Unitarian congregation;"—responded to by the Treasurer, Edward Dixon, Esq.

"Prosperity to the High-Street congregation, Portsmouth, and health and happiness to the Rev. H. Hawkes;"—responded to by Mr. Hawkes.

"Universal education;"—responded to by H. E. Howse, Esq., of Frenchay.

"Perfect religious liberty;"—responded to by Mr. Norrington.

"The British and Foreign Unitarian Association, and best wishes for the happiness and usefulness of the Rev. H. Hutton;"—responded to by Mr. Hutton.

"The Southern Unitarian Fund Society, and best thanks to the Rev. E. Kell for his active services as one of its Secretaries;"—responded to by Mr. Kell.

"Friends from a distance," connected with the names of the Rev. Mark Rowntree and Mr. Bishop, of Dorchester;"—responded to by Mr. Rowntree.

"The Stewards;"—responded to by Mr. P. Brannon.

"The Ladies who presided on the occasion," given by Mr. Norrington.

"Mr. Berry, the Secretary of the Southampton congregation, and thanks to him for his services;"—responded to by Mr. Berry.

After thanks to the Chairman had been cordially passed, this meeting, one of the most gratifying and animating that has been held since the formation of the Society, was closed by prayer, offered by the Rev. Thomas Foster, of Portsmouth.

Congregational Changes and Vacancies.

CARTER LANE, LONDON—Rev. Dr. Hutton's last service, April 25; Rev. H. Solly's first, May 2.

EXETER, ST. GEORGE'S MEETING—vacant by removal of Rev. T. Hincks to Sheffield at Midsummer next.

BIRMINGHAM, OLD MEETING—still vacant.

NORWICH, OCTAGON CHAPEL—vacant by resignation of Rev. J. Crompton.

STOURBRIDGE—vacant by death of Rev. Alexander Paterson.

DUDLEY—vacant by resignation of Rev. J. Palmer.

CHOWBENT—vacant.

The occurrence of so many important vacancies in our pulpits at the present

time, invites a few earnest remarks from us in recording them. Taken in connection with the diminished number of students now in preparation for our ministry, they suggest very serious thought as to the ultimate and even nearer supply of our pulpits, and must be viewed with some degree of anxiety as symptoms of the state and prospects of our churches in general. And we must not conceal our participation, to a great degree, in the discouraging feelings which have been lately expressed by correspondents in our own pages, and more fully and frequently in the columns of our weekly contemporary, the *Inquirer*.

But a stronger and more practically useful view of the existing vacancies is that to which we now wish to give expression. We think that the judicious supply of these existing vacancies by the important societies in which they have occurred, might constitute the very means and occasion of putting forth fresh zeal and vigour throughout the body at large.

Some of the vacant pulpits are those of large and prosperous congregations, affording quite the higher rate of income to their ministers. They are all above the average of our churches in numbers and wealth. Now, a change of ministers generally brings the affairs of a congregation more clearly under the notice of its members in general than they may have been for years past; and it is an obvious occasion on which those who have entered regretfully into the details lately drawn forth as to the remuneration of our ministers, may excite or revive the energetic zeal of their own particular community, as a practical self-application of the subject. And the same opportunity might, in many places perhaps, be with advantage used for instituting some such additional organization as might tend to keep up a more general interest throughout the body of the congregation in its secular and, through that means, in its religious prosperity. If our word of advice can be heeded, then, we would earnestly entreat the heads of each vacant congregation to lay it down as their first rule of action, that they will, so far as they are concerned, raise, and on no account lower, the average position of the Unitarian ministry. The general comfort and prosperity of the times will favour this resolve. And, if the three or four larger congregations now vacant will resolutely act upon this principle, and choose as their min-

isters (as they will then find it practicable to do) men of settled character and opinion and known ability, to whom removal from smaller congregations would be at once acceptable promotion and the renewal of energy and power,—this simple procedure on the part of a few leading congregations would excite the zeal of those left vacant in supplying them, and would further effectuate that supply of students in our colleges, the failure of which is, by common consent, referred to the inadequate prospects of our ministry.

As to the mode of choosing a minister for a vacant pulpit, we feel impelled to say a few words. Every congregation amongst us has its own independent right to pursue its own course; and very various are the modes actually adopted. Generally speaking, we believe, the final election of the minister is made by numerical votes of the adult attendants qualified as seat-holders for a certain time back. And we have no desire to suggest any abridgment of the fullest freedom of popular choice. But a previous discrimination, we think, ought to be always made by a selector and more educated few, appointed for that purpose, who should bring forward such persons only as they have found really eligible and reliable, on thorough inquiry, for the final decision of the congregation. Just as, in secular matters, in seeking a candidate for the representation of a borough, or investigating the qualifications of candidates for a public office, a select committee of the best and ablest men is commonly appointed to sift the credentials and inquire into the qualifications of the parties concerned, and they afterwards submit these to the ultimate decision of the body of voters,—there surely needs, in the important business of the choice of a minister to a vacant pulpit, some such exhaustive and discriminating process. In the Independent and Baptist bodies, the election is made by the *church*, as distinguished from the *congregation*; and this *church* is itself a selector body of persons, containing the more decided and serious professors of religion, who at least know their own wishes as regards the theological doctrines and religious tone which will be acceptable to themselves. They form the collective living test, in default of a written test, if they do not further require their minister's adhesion to the latter. Among our Presbyterian brethren in Scotland and Ireland, the license of the Synod is, to a certain ex-

tent, a voucher for character, learning and ability. Among ourselves, the shadowy form of ordination, which once denoted at least the sanction of the elder ministers to their young brother's first entrance upon the pastoral office, is almost extinct; and the only test of fitness for the office is such as each congregation chooses to apply for itself. Nor can it be denied that in some cases men have been chosen by popular election into our ministry, without any sufficient proof having been gained of their theological attainments or general habits of mind, and of the suitableness of their tastes to its serious and important duties. Perhaps we ought to add, that our congregations themselves have not always known distinctly what it was that they wanted in seeking a minister. Or their avowed want has merely been of some one who will *draw*, "who will fill the place." But fill it *how*? is the real question. With persons assembled for what purpose—united on what principles? To hear an orator—or an essayist—or a poet—or a genius? Or to hear Christian instruction and exhortation, and join in Christian worship, purified from the irrationality and vulgarity that so commonly characterize the popular churches? If this is the purpose, the congregation seeking a minister should entrust it to a few of their wisest, best and most religious-hearted men to make the preliminary inquiries for them; and, having thus ascertained those qualifications to exist which, though essential in the Christian minister, are not patent in a "trial sermon," they might let the ultimate decision rest (as it seems necessary it should do) upon his possession of such external qualifications as can be more generally appreciated on slight acquaintance. Without these preliminaries, what a chapter of chance is the election to a vacant pulpit! A casual supply—an utter stranger, unknown to all present, and introduced by the slightest thread of acquaintance with somebody whom somebody else knows—may sparkle in gems of poetry, or thunder in tones of popular oratory, and forthwith become the choice of a congregation, and the professed guide and assistant of religious learners, without a theological whereabouts of his own.

The very freedom in which our churches glory exposes us to these dangers. And never more so than at the present time, when the new ferment of rationalistic doubt and inquiry, and the

yet newer phase of non-doctrinal theology, are confessed elements of some of our churches. But in every one of them (unless where the ministrations have been strangely negative and nugatory for years past) there is a prevalent religious and theological standard fixed in the living minds and hearts of the congregation, which ought not to allow its distinctive claims to be forgotten. Let there be all possible mutual forbearance and consideration. Let no extreme party in opinion or taste insist upon supremacy. Let every occasion of disunion be avoided, as free minds may avoid disunion by mutual concession and the recognition of mutual freedom; and let our societies feel that to them is committed the vindication of a reasonable Christianity, and the sustenance of a manly worship in this land. Their power for good is immensely more than proportionate to their numbers. The trust committed to them is such as they alone can fulfil. They are the leaven of the lump, and the world is leavening faster than it likes to acknowledge. Let us be true to our great mission!

Heresy and the Inquisition at the New College.

The *Morning Advertiser* has recently reported some extraordinary proceedings at this great institution of the Independents. The Principal, Rev. Dr. Harris, in a desultory conversation in his class, found three of his pupils entertaining opinions respecting the inspiration and authority of scripture which he regarded as unsound and dangerous. Instead of calmly discussing the question with them, and patiently meeting their difficulties, and giving them time to weigh the value of the reasons he might adduce for "orthodox" views, he brought the subject at once before the Council. The students denounced had no further warning than an official note from the Tutor announcing his purpose, and summoning them to attend the Council the following day. They were not allowed to hear the charges brought against them by their Tutor, but were called individually before the Council, underwent a brief examination, their statements in explanation being sometimes interrupted by calls to order from the Chairman. The Council came to the decision that the opinions held by the students were incompatible with their position as students for the Christian ministry. What

was the exact amount of heresy avowed, is not agreed. A defender of the Council asserts that the students distinctly avowed their conviction that the ultimate standard of appeal in matters of belief is subjective, not objective—the individual consciousness, rather than the record of revelation. In the view of the Council, the question therefore involved not inspiration only, but the authority of the sacred Scriptures as the rule of Christian faith and the standard of Christian doctrine. The justice of this statement is met by the friends of the expelled students with a distinct denial. Mr. Thomas White, the father of one of them, says, "They have never said that the standard of belief is the individual consciousness; and they have taken great pains to shew that their opinions respecting inspiration do not, at least in their view, militate against the authority of the Scriptures." It is not the least extraordinary part of these inquisitorial proceedings, that the Council of New College did not take sufficient time to ascertain beyond dispute what the obnoxious opinions were which they so promptly and severely punished. The Council made the proposal that the young men should withdraw from the College for three months, during which time they might carefully review their opinions. This proposal was declined; and the Council then resolved that the students must close their connection with New College either by a *voluntary* resignation or by expulsion. The fathers of two of the students waited on the Council at a subsequent meeting. In vain these gentlemen asked what the errors charged against their sons really were, beyond matters as confessedly undefined at New College as elsewhere. The Council listened in silence to the significant words of rebuke, "You are not yourselves agreed upon these points; there is not one gentleman here who can draw up a creed which he will venture to say that all the Professors can sign."

We regard these proceedings with some interest. They manifest the working of a spirit of inquiry which will shake "orthodox" colleges to their very centre. The expulsion of three (no, nor of three hundred) students will not restore to New College the peaceful slumber of an uninquiring, unreflecting orthodoxy. The inspiration and authority of the Scriptures are the great theological questions of the day. Unless the Council are prepared both to state explicitly what the standard of

orthodoxy on these subjects is at New College, and defend it by sufficient arguments to the satisfaction of inquirers, severities like those now described will not repress, but will rather promote the obnoxious heresy. According to the Congregational Year Book, the Council consists of the Professors of New College, of eleven Dissenting ministers (two of whom are deceased), and ten laymen. Amongst the ministers are Mr. Binney, Dr. Burder, Mr. Geo. Clayton and Mr. Stoughton. Amongst the lay representative members are Sir Culling Eardley and Messrs. Joshua Wilson, Samuel Morley, Remington Mills, Thomas Piper and Henry Rutt. According to the inscription on the foundation-stone, New College was devoted *STUDIIS LIBERALISSIMIS DOCTRINIS QUE*. We cannot but think that some members of the Council, known to the public as scholars and gentlemen, must disapprove of the proceedings of their colleagues, so directly opposed to the avowed purpose of the institution.

Benefit Societies for the Working Classes.

On Monday evening, April 19th, a lecture was delivered on this subject by the Rev. Dr. Beard, in the school-room of the Unitarian chapel, Strangeways. After some general observations on the importance, especially to the poorer classes, of prudence and forethought, the lecturer expressed his conviction that the bulk of existing benefit societies, particularly those held at public-houses, are totally insecure, being based on fallacious principles, pledged to higher payments in cases of sickness and death than is warranted by the rate of subscription, and badly managed. These societies have often originated with publicans, whose object was mainly to secure custom; and thus, besides the pecuniary losses entailed, great inducements were held out to dissipation and vice of all kinds. In the course of his duties as a Christian minister, the lecturer had met with many sad instances of the mischiefs resulting from these mismanaged clubs; and he considered that no greater moral and social benefit could be conferred upon the community than the establishment and general support of an institution which was adapted to the wants of humble life, perfectly secure

and trustworthy, and free from the injurious and depraving influence of many of the existing societies. Amongst other illustrations of the evils resulting from the popular clubs, and their inability to meet the demands upon them, the lecturer stated that in the Birmingham workhouse at one period, out of 152 paupers, 61 had become inmates from the failure of clubs on which they had relied, and to which, on an average, they had contributed 13 years. These considerations led him to wish for the establishment of a sound institution, which he could feel warranted in recommending to the notice and support of the working classes; and in the Equitable Provident Society, founded by some benevolent friends of the people, without any pecuniary interest to themselves, he had been glad to recognize an institution which in every respect was excellent and trustworthy. The lecturer then explained the constitution of the society, shewing that security had been the chief aim in constructing its tables, and that it affords great assistance to the working classes especially, providing for sickness, for apprenticeship fees, for deferred annuities, &c. At the conclusion of the lecture, a vote of thanks to Dr. Beard was moved by Dr. Watts, seconded by Mr. J. S. Fletcher, and passed very cordially.—*The Manchester Guardian*, April 24.

The Kenrick Testimonial Fund.

On closing the duties entrusted to them, the Committee, after having presented to Mrs. Kenrick the admirable portrait by Patten, and an engraving taken from it to each subscriber to the fund, found themselves in possession of a balance of £30. This sum has, during the present year, with the consent of Mr. Kenrick, been expended in the purchase of a number of volumes, chiefly in the departments of history and poetry, which have been presented to the library of Manchester New College. The books selected are named in the College Report just issued, in which they are described as the gift of Mr. Kenrick to the College. Most of the books are in handsome bindings, and this addition to the library is the more interesting from its connection with a testimonial honourable alike to Mr. Kenrick and his pupils.

OBITUARY.

January 30, at Ilminster, in the 75th year of her age, MARY, relict of John COLLINS, of Horton, Esquire. This lady was the sister of the late Dr. Blake, of Taunton, and daughter of the Rev. William Blake, once the highly respected minister of Crewkerne. She was a worthy member of a family distinguished for its many virtues and its highly Christian character: in her own family circle, and in her general intercourse with the world, she manifested the beauty and strength of those principles of integrity and piety which are at the same time a privilege and a merit in such as are governed by them. Mrs. Collins passed many years of wedded life at Horton, in the quiet, unobtrusive discharge of her high duties as a wife and a mother. To these she was ever attentive, making it evident to all who were permitted to know her and to observe the tenor of her life, that her heart lay in them, and that she remembered at all times her responsibility to that Being from whom she derived life and all its endowments. To acquit herself well in His sight was the constant desire of her pious mind, and this desire animated her not only within the circle of her home, but in those engagements which occasionally drew her beyond it, made her most affectionate to those whom her heart loved, most true and faithful to those who were admitted to her society and friendship, and most considerate and benevolent to all whose sorrow and destitution appealed to her sympathy.

There was a sincerity, an integrity, in her words and actions, of which the world does not yet afford too many examples. Neither on her lips nor in her heart was guile ever found. Not with the pretence of self-conscious virtue, but with all simplicity, she was eminently sincere and true. In the presence of the artful and the tricking, the transparency of her mind contrasted beautifully with the tortuous darkness of theirs.

A passing remark will not be a fitting record of the large benevolence of the departed. The destitute and the oppressed might always rely upon her sympathy, and upon her aid too, as far as she had the power to extend it. She carried relief to many a wretched cottage, and comfort to many a wretched heart. The needy came to her, and she did not send them empty away. The poor cried, and they found her ready to help them. And where suffering and injustice and

tyranny existed on a large scale, so that no single hand could remove them, her soul was large to feel them—to feel for all who were crushed by every or any despotism, and her indignation strong against the despot.

To say that she was religious, is but a faint expression of the truth. Religion was a portion of her life; it was blended with all her virtues, and constituted their chief beauty. To her spirit the Divine presence was ever revealed; in the Divine benevolence she continually rejoiced. She saw that benevolence reigning over the earth and the universe, and no interruption to her own joy, no temporary change in the aspects of the world, shook her faith in it. And when sorrow and bereavement tried her, her spirits rose above them: she looked to Him who had spoken kind words to her and her race by his Son, and was comforted and elevated. Thus religion entered into her daily thoughts and ministrations. New cares and new connections did not contract its sphere nor weaken its efficacy, but, on the contrary, enlarged its exercise and revealed its higher power. And when all human hopes and joys were fast crumbling away, and the soul could find its only support in the eternal, and religion—that alone which is vital and genuine—fulfil its office, hers was equal to the occasion, and its strength was sufficient for her. It dispelled gloom and despair from the dying bed. With a heavenly calmness she awaited the approach of the summons which should separate her from the many who loved her.

“None who saw her in these solemn moments; none who could comprehend her holy trust, and the fervour of her prayer; none who beheld the calmness and the patience with which she awaited her dismissal, but would say—‘See in what peace a Christian can die!’”

March 31, in the 84th year of his age, Mr. JOSEPH FLETCHER, of Chatham Street, Liverpool.

April 3, at Stourbridge, after a short indisposition, in his 53rd year, the Rev. ALEXANDER PATERSON. On the previous Sunday morning he officiated at his chapel as usual, but was unable to conduct the afternoon service. Not, however, till the Wednesday following did his complaint assume an alarming aspect. Retaining his consciousness to the last, he

manifested throughout his illness the composure and fortitude of the Christian. He had been the minister of the Presbyterian congregation assembling at Stourbridge during a period of rather more than thirty years, having accepted an unanimous invitation from them immediately upon his leaving College. Throughout this long period he retained not only his popularity, but the sincere and warm esteem of his people. His memory will indeed be long and affectionately cherished by many who were either benefited by his influence, or were enabled by personal intercourse to appreciate the sterling excellences of his character.

As a minister of the gospel, he was able, well instructed on the momentous subjects connected with his office; and, being imbued with the spirit of his Divine Master, was faithful, conscientious and earnest in the discharge of his ministerial and pastoral duties. By those who were engaged in the same profession with himself, was he held in high estimation, both for his pulpit addresses, which were always sound, serious and intelligent, and for the Christian kindness and courtesy which he uniformly displayed in his familiar intercourse with them.

In all the varied relations of life he acted from principle; as a consequence, his conduct was consistent; and though averse to anything like ostentation, and disinclined to force himself upon public attention, yet was he never backward in the promotion of plans which might tend to the welfare of his neighbourhood and mankind. As a friend, he was always ready with his sympathy and advice, and never will his value be forgotten by those who enjoyed the privilege of his friendship. As the head of his family, he was regarded, and justly so, with reverence by its different members. Though his voice is silent in death, may he yet admonish us by his truly Christian example!

[To the foregoing tribute to the memory of this worthy minister, we add one or two biographical facts. Rev. Alexander Paterson was the son of Rev. Thos. W. Paterson, a Dissenting minister, and pastor of the Protestant Dissenting congregations at Bardon and Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in the county of Leicester. Of his father and grandfather, an account is given, from the pen of the late Rev. James Scott, of Cradley, in the *Monthly Repository*, VII. 644—647. He was born, we presume, at Donington-on-the-Heath, in the county of Leicester, in November, 1799. At the time of his father's death, he was little more than twelve years of age, and was one of

six children. He was a pupil at the school of the late Rev. Robert Kell, first at Harborne and then at Bordesley, both places being about two miles distant from Birmingham. In March, 1816, he was appointed to one of the bursaries founded by Dr. Daniel Williams, in connection with the University of Glasgow. He remained there five years, and in due course graduated M.A. Amongst his companions in the University were Rev. Charles Wallace, Rev. Edmund Kell, Rev. John James Tayler, Rev. William Bowen and Rev. J. P. Malleon. He attended the Divinity course of Rev. Stevenson McGill, the Professor of Theology. While he gave a candid audience to the "orthodox" and Calvinistic instructions of the Professor, he saw no good reasons for departing from the more liberal and benignant system in which he had been brought up. Though invited to undertake the pastoral care of the Stourbridge congregation in 1822, his ordination there did not take place till July 15, 1823. The ministers who took part in it were Rev. John Small, of Coseley; Rev. Robert Kell, of Birmingham; Rev. Richard Fry, of Kidderminster; Rev. James Scott, of Cradley; and Rev. John Kentish and Rev. James Yates, of Birmingham. In reply to the ordination questions put by Mr. Kell, Mr. Paterson stated the grounds of his belief in Divine Revelation, his motives for exercising his ministry among Protestant Dissenters, and his views and desires in undertaking the duties of a pastor. (*Mon. Repos.* XVIII. 424.) His immediate predecessor was Rev. Thomas Warren, who had been minister from 1817. Between the congregations at Cradley and Stourbridge there was a close alliance, and for many years a regular and constant interchange of ministerial services. From the time of his settlement at Stourbridge until 1828, when Mr. Scott died, Mr. Paterson preached alternate Sundays at Cradley, Mr. Scott preaching on those days at Stourbridge. The only composition which Mr. Paterson is known to have committed to the press, was an Address delivered at the funeral of his friend and neighbour, Rev. James Scott. In addition to many other claims on the respect of his townsmen, Mr. Paterson's memory will be long honoured by them for his successful exertions in the establishment of the Mechanics' Institution. Early in life, Mr. Paterson was an Arian. His matured opinions, however, were in hearty accordance with the Unitarian faith, as expounded by Carpenter, Aspland, Kentish and Madge.—*ED. C. R.*]

April 14, in Ormond Street, Manchester, aged 72 years, SARAH, the wife of Mr. CYRUS ARMITAGE.

We recently recorded the death of the Rev. THOMAS BOWEN, of Walsall. Of this amiable man we have since received a few biographical particulars.

He was born in 1766, in the neighbourhood of Lampeter. The principal part of his early education he received under the care of Mr. Davis, of Castle Howel, a man distinguished for his classical attainments, the father of the present Rev. Timothy Davis, of Evesham.

Upon leaving him, he prepared himself, in accordance with the wishes of his father and his own convictions at that time, to become a clergyman of the Established Church, and had proceeded so far as to apply to the Bishop of St. David's, with a view to his ordination. Before, however, the necessary arrangements could be made, he was introduced into the society of a Unitarian minister, by whose conversation he was led to reconsider his religious principles, and finally to embrace Unitarianism. He

then went to the Academy at Swansea, now removed to Carmarthen.

His first settlement as a minister was at Walsall, at which place, from first to last, he officiated for upwards of forty years. About the year 1819, he left Walsall, and became minister of the congregation at Ilminster, Somerset, in which situation he continued till the year 1823, and then returned to Walsall, resuming his ministry there, which he did not resign till some years afterwards. In that town he continued to reside till his death, which took place in January 25, 1852, in the 87th year of his age.

The only things he committed to the press were an English Grammar and a small book explaining the method of describing the lines of Latitude and Longitude on paper, by means of an instrument which he invented for that purpose, an account of which is given by Dr. A. Rees in his Encyclopædia. He was the founder of the general Library at Walsall, and established the first Sunday-school at that place. He was universally respected by all classes, and lived on friendly terms with the clergy of all denominations.

MARRIAGES.

March 2, at the Abbey chapel, Tavistock, by Rev. James Taplin, Mr. GEORGE RICE, yeoman, of Mary-Tavy, to Miss S. REDCLIFFE.

March 4, at Little Carter-Lane chapel, by Rev. Dr. Hutton, Mr. H. YORK BRUCE to EMMA GEORGIANA, eldest daughter of Mr. G. RICHMOND, Skinner Street, Snow Hill.

March 31, at the Presbyterian chapel, Styal, Cheshire, by Rev. John Colston, BENSON RATHBONE, Esq., of Liverpool, to HANNAH SOPHIA, youngest daughter of R. H. GREG, Esq., of Norcliffe Hall.

April 3, at the Unitarian chapel, Belper, by the Rev. Rees L. Lloyd, Mr. THOMAS LOCKER to Miss ELIZABETH COOPER, of Milford. This was the first marriage solemnized in the chapel.

April 9, at the Abbey chapel, Tavistock, by Rev. James Taplin, Mr. WILLIAM RICHE, yeoman, to Miss ELIZABETH MADDOCKS, of Mary-Tavy.

April 9, at the Abbey chapel, Tavistock, by Rev. James Taplin, Mr. WILLIAM H. COLLING, Foundry, to Miss ELIZA RUNDLE, late of Tavistock.

April 11, at the Unitarian chapel, Ken-

dal, by the Rev. Edward Hawkes, M.A., Mr. BENSON JACKSON to Miss RACHEL RICHARDSON, both of Sizergh.

April 14, at Alderley, Mr. NEVILLE BLYTHE, merchant, of Adelaide, South Australia, to JULIA, daughter of the late Henry BARNES, Esq., of Everton, near Liverpool.

April 14, at Renshaw-street chapel, Liverpool, by Rev. J. H. Thom, THOMAS ASHTON, Esq., of Hyde, to ELIZABETH, daughter of the late Samuel S. GAIR, Esq., of Liverpool.

April 16, at the Unitarian chapel, Newport, Isle of Wight, by Rev. Edmund Kell, M.A., HENRY MORLEY, Esq., of London, to MARY ANNE SAYER, daughter of Joseph Sayer, Esq., of Newport, Isle of Wight.

April 20, by Rev. G. Heap Stanley, Mr. HENRY DAVIS POCHIN to AGNES, youngest daughter of the late George GRETTON HEAP, Esq., of Manchester.

April 21, at St. Oswald's, Chester, Mr. RICHARD BROADHURST, of Higher Broughton, Manchester, to ESTHER CATHERINE MARY, third daughter of the late Mr. Benjamin BRASSEY, of Chester.